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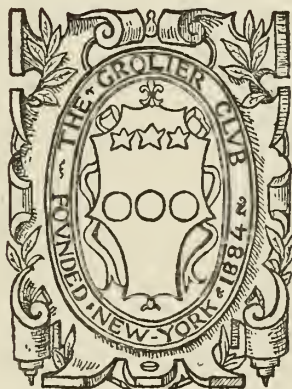
DÜRER'S
ENGRAVINGS, DRY-POINTS,
AND ETCHINGS.

A CHRONOLOGICAL CATALOGUE
OF THE
ENGRAVINGS, DRY-POINTS
AND ETCHINGS

OF
Albert Dürer

AS EXHIBITED AT THE GROLIER CLUB

COMPILED BY
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THE GROLIER CLUB OF NEW YORK
M DCCC XCVII

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INTRODUCTION.



I. THE MEANING OF DÜRER'S WORK.

OF all the artists whose names are in everybody's mouth, Dürer is the one least understood. Max Allihn is quite right when he says of some of his compositions that they "may be fittingly likened to the sphinx of the old legend, for they attack every one who, either as critic or historian, or harmless wanderer, enters the realm of art, and propose to him their insolvable riddles." And if the truth were told, it would be found that all so attacked were vanquished, and that they ought to be counted among the dead.

The difficulties which beset the Dürer student are manifold, and of a peculiar kind. Rembrandt, who always comes up in the mind as Dürer's rival in the fascination which he exercises upon those who venture within the reach of his influence, repulses at first by his apparent ugliness, and to the specialist in prints brings many a sore trial through the Protean shapes which his plates assume in the way of "states," but as to the subject matter of his compositions, it is as easily understood as the conversation of a neighbor of to-day. The truth is that Rembrandt is thoroughly modern, and utters his homely but heartfelt sentences in simple speech, which only gains from what there still adheres to it of an antiquated flavor. As to his genesis and the reason for his being and appearing just where and as he did, these also are perfectly clear, and can be deduced logically from the conditions which preceded and surrounded him. With Dürer, on the other hand, all this is different. He does not, indeed, trouble us with "states," for among all his authenticated works of

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importance there is only one, the "Adam and Eve," of which two states, properly so called, are known, nor does he shock us with apparently vulgar ugliness, however far removed his creations may be from the Italian ideal of beauty as we admire it in Raphael. But when we come to inquire into the course of his development, and seek to understand the influences which assisted in the shaping of his mind, we are at once confronted by serious obstacles, and our troubles increase as we enter upon the task of the interpretation of his works. It seems as if it were more difficult even to understand Dürer than the older artists still farther removed from us, not only in time, but also in feeling. And therein we may possibly find a first clue to the nature of our troubles. These older men were of the same metal throughout, and thus present a unity which, although foreign to us, we may hope to understand by contrast. Rembrandt, on the other hand, is thoroughly modern,—cast in the same mold in which we were cast,—and we understand him, therefore by similarity. Dürer, however, is neither the one nor the other, or rather, he is both. We think we have divined his innermost thoughts by approaching him from the side of the Middle Ages, when, lo and behold, we suddenly find ourselves face to face with an idea with which the Middle Ages had nothing to do; and we are equally vanquished if we look at him from a modern point of view. It is this, precisely, that makes him so thoroughly typical of his age, which was racked and confused by conflicting desires: the love of, and inability to get away from, old ideals; an undefined longing for the new out of which the modern world was to rise; and the vain hope that by returning to the dead past, as embodied in the Rome of antiquity, the two might be reconciled and enjoyed together. Dürer himself has given very characteristic literary embodiment to the crude, illogical thinking of the Renaissance in one of his drafts for an introduction to his book on the proportions of the human body, still preserved in the British Museum. Having expressed his regret at the loss of the "noble books" of the ancients on kindred subjects, which, he opines, may have been suppressed and utterly de-

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stroyed in the beginning of the Church, from hatred of idolatry, he continues: "Should it be as I conjecture, and had I been present at the time, I would have said: O you dear holy sirs and fathers, do not, for the sake of the bad, thus pitiably kill the nobly invented art, which has been brought together by such great trouble and labor. For art is great, weighty, and good, and we will convert it with great honors to the praise of God. For in the same way as they applied the most beautiful figure of a man to their idol Apollo, thus we will take the same measurement for Christ, the Lord, who is the most beautiful of all the world. And as they have used Venus as the most beautiful woman, thus will we chastely devote the same graceful figure to the most pure Virgin, the Mother of God. And of Hercules we will make Samson; the same will we do with all the others." (Lange und Fuhse, p. 316.) Bearing in mind this condition of things, we may hope, if not fully to understand, at least correctly to appreciate, Dürer's works. For it is precisely the illogical, and therefore enigmatical, character of the time of struggle and transformation in which he lived that takes form in them and makes them representative. To hope to reduce such half-felt, half-reasoned productions to the clearness of a problem in mathematics is in vain, and all attempts in that direction have, therefore, been fruitless.

But the difficulties which the age in general interposes are measurably increased in Dürer's case by his nationality. He was a German, or, more broadly speaking, a Northerner. To the limitations which bound all the intellects of his time there were added those which inhered in his race. However the spirit of classical antiquity might be misunderstood on the other side of the Alps, the favored son of the South had at least retained through all the vicissitudes of the Dark Ages an instinctive feeling of form and refinement which his Northern brother had never possessed. One needs only to compare a naughty story told by Boccaccio with a similar tale told by Chaucer, to understand this difference between the North and the South. The former throws around it all the allurements of refined outward beauty, and thus increases the force of the poison a

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thousandfold; the other presents his subject in all its native repulsiveness, and thus robs it of much of its baleful influence. And the same holds good of pictorial art. The Apollos and Venuses, the Theseuses and Ariadnes of the old Florentine engravers grouped together under the mythical firm name of Botticelli-Baldini, however far they may be removed from the creations of a Phidias or even of his late Græco-Roman followers, are still, as compared with their congeners on the northern side of the mountains, triumphant examples of grace and beauty, and in so far at least make good their claim to be direct descendants of antique ancestors. To understand this, it suffices to place side by side with the Italian engravings alluded to such a plate as that of "The Judgment of Paris," by the Master of the Banderoles (reproduced in Lehrs' "Der Meister mit den Bandrollen," Dresden, 1886). The Italian works named belong to a period which, it is hardly necessary to say, preceded the time of Dürer's activity by nearly half a century. But, all advances in the intermediate years conceded, the relative positions of the North and the South nevertheless remained about the same. Of an age and a country which did not hesitate, in sober earnest and by the mouth of one of its most learned men, to proclaim Maximilian's "Arch of Honor" (woodcut, B 138) the counterpart of an antique Roman triumphal arch, and which represented Truth, in the attempted reconstruction of the "Calumny" of Apelles, by a woman richly attired in sixteenth-century costume, with a big feather hat, and carrying a flaming face,—the sun,—on a fruit-dish (see Dürer's sketch in Thausing, II, opp. p. 162), we must not demand that it should distinguish to a nicety between the Roman Fortuna and the Greek Nemesis.

To these racial difficulties, however, there must, finally, be added, in the case of Dürer, still others which arise out of the individuality of the artist himself. With Faust, he also might have sighed that two souls dwelt within his breast: one, that of the scientific investigator, the man of facts, the reasoner,—the other, that of the artist, burning with a constant yearning for the visual embodiment of his longings, which in-

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cluded ever evasive visions of beauty. It was the conflict between these two tendencies, and the endeavor to reconcile them, which still further helped to mar Dürer's art. Over and over again he repeats, in the many drafts for passages in his theoretical works which he left behind, that the artist is full of figures inside, which he would not have time enough to draw if he were to live a hundred years or more; and quite as often he warns the young artist that the truth is in Nature. "Therefore," he says (L. u. F., p. 226), "look at it diligently, be guided by it, and do not depart from Nature in thy presumption, thinking that thou thyself mightest find something better; for thou wilt be misled." As to Beauty, he quite agrees with Raphael: "But what Beauty may be, that I know not" (L. u. F., p. 288). While, however, Raphael was content to follow his artistic instinct, Dürer thirsted for knowledge. "For I know," he writes (L. u. F., p. 239),—and again he formulates the same idea over and over,—“that the desire of mankind may be so satiated of earthly things by their surfeit that one becomes weary of them; only excepted to know much,—of that no one wearies.” So that, while he is convinced that we may not know what Beauty is, he yet believes also that "Art is hidden in Nature; whosoever can tear it out has it" (L. u. F., p. 226). And hence it is his never-tiring endeavor to find the key that will unlock the secret of Beauty in the human form, and will put him into the possession of the ideal measurements, according to which may be constructed a perfect body. It is the old vain struggle after the absolute, leading at last to disenchantment, if it does not lead to intellectual death,—and Dürer was no exception. In spite of the fact that he was just engaged in seeing his book on proportions through the press when death overtook him, he acknowledged to his friend Pirkheimer that only late towards the evening of life had he learned to esteem at its true value the simplicity of nature, and there is no denying that his speculative labors exerted a deadening influence on his art. Moved by these conflicting impulses, we see him, almost from the very beginning of his career, draw ugly

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naturalistic figures, like those of "The Four Naked Women" (No. 14 of this catalogue) and of the "Nemesis" (No. 33), simultaneously with others of quite a different kind,—the Venus in "The Dream" (No. 15), for instance, and the figures of Adam and Eve in the celebrated plate of the year 1504 (No. 34), which are the outcome of his speculations and his striving after the absolute. A similar difference we may note in his landscape work, although in this, curiously enough, he confines his realism to the studies made for himself. Such sketches, for example, as those in the Print Cabinet, at Berlin (Lippmann, No. 14), and in the British Museum, at London (Lippmann, No. 219), would be admitted to any exhibition of "impressionist" art of to-day. But when he utilized his sketches, he so conventionalized them that, on the unaided testimony of the landscape backgrounds to be seen in the works destined for the public, and more especially in his engravings, no one would ever think of attributing all these things to the same hand.

Nevertheless, however difficult it may be to understand, not only the subject matter, but even the outward form of Dürer's work, it would never do, in a fit of ultra-agnosticism, to content ourselves with an admission of ignorance, and to give up all endeavor in despair. Although we may be ready to acknowledge that there are certain things which we cannot know, we yet feel it necessary to give play to our faculties, and to ascertain what we may know, and in spite of the rebuffs suffered by some, there will always be others ready to ask whether it is really utterly impossible to lift the veil. The answer is apparently simple. We may hope to comprehend these works, so far as their matter is concerned, by studying them within their time; that is to say, by seeking for the general causes to which they owe their existence. It is the "*kulturhistorische Deutung*,"—the explanation from the point of view of the historian of civilization,—which alone promises to furnish the key so long sought. That all other ways have led to nothing is evident. It is surprising to see the stupid ingenuity or the ingenious stupidity which has been displayed in attempts to explain some of Dürer's prints merely upon the

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outward evidence of the subjects themselves. On the other hand, the subjective method,—that method which questions the works as to the effect produced upon the individual observer, and then, from this effect, deduces the causes which must have moved the artist,—has proved equally abortive. Nor yet will the life history alone of the artist provide a sufficient explanation, although it claims a decided share in the evidence to be considered. Into what strange aberrations such a one-sided method of proceeding may lead is plainly shown by the interpretations based upon the unfortunate relations which for a long time were supposed to have existed between Dürer and his wife, and upon which recent researches have thrown at least a milder light, even if they should not have proved them to be wholly without foundation (see “Dürer’s Wife,” among the “Biographical Illustrations,” p. lvii, etc.). It follows from all this that the historical method remains as the only one to be followed, however much such an essay as Allihn’s “Dürer Studien” may tend to make us shun it, in view of the paucity of results attained as compared with the vast amount of learning expended. It does, indeed, seem as if the past, quite as much as the future, were to us a book with seven seals. But the attempts to open it will never cease, and the sooner we resign ourselves to the conviction that intuition or the divine furor of the poet will not help us to break the seals, but that, if they are to be broken at all, nothing but downright hard work will do it, the better it will be for us. The notes given in the catalogue of Dürer’s engravings which follows are principally designed, so far as opportunities and the limits of a catalogue will allow, to supply some hints to those who may wish to see what has so far been done towards the interpretation of Dürer’s works by the writers who have made him their special subject of study.

Noting all these limitations, and listening to all these “ifs” and “buts,” what, it may be asked, is there left, then, to explain Dürer’s fame and the value universally set upon his works? There is probably no other artist who is so freely criticized as Dürer by even his most ardent admirers. That he really was not a *painter* in the modern sense of

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the word is all but universally admitted,—that he rarely, if ever, attained Beauty; that most of his compositions are next to impossible to understand; and, worse than all, that much of his engraving, which is that part of his work by which he is most widely known, is commonplace and has the flavor of market ware, being redeemed only by careful and conscientious workmanship,—all these points are equally conceded. And yet, ask whomsoever you please to name to you the six greatest artists of the past, and Dürer is sure to be amongst them, and if you cut the number down to three, the answer will probably be,—certainly would have been, say twenty-five years ago,—Raphael, Dürer, and Rembrandt. Here is another enigma, seemingly the greatest of them all. To the real student of Dürer, however,—to him who knows the story of his aspirations and his struggles,—this apparent enigma is not insolvable. The story of Dürer's life is a sad one, and it expresses itself in his art. The man “full of figures inside”; the true artist to whom the greatest need of life was to give form to that which was in him; the spirit that yearned for the truth and longed to see ideal beauty,—living in the sixteenth century in a burgher community like Nuremberg, at the commencement of the Reformation, which tended rather to lead men away from than towards art; compelled to work for markets and fairs, where his wares were exposed to the gaze and the criticism of peasants and lansquenets, and others of like ilk, together with “Lebkuchen” and nuts and even less esthetic things,—what an anomaly! And, moreover, hampered in himself by the racial shortcomings, intensified by those of the individual, discussed above! It is truly an elevating spectacle to see so much achieved under such terrible limitations, and our hearts go out in pity towards the man who bravely carries on the unequal struggle, so that we are ready to sympathize with him, even in his defeats.

If, however, Dürer had no other claim on the public in general, the argument just advanced might be open to the charge of begging the question, and the universal estimation in which he is held would still be unexplained. We shall, therefore, have to continue our questioning, and

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the answer received is this: It is a patent fact that most of Dürer's designs,—and this is more especially true of his engravings,—exercise a strong fascination over the beholder, even while they are not in the least understood,—a welcome assurance that the admiration expressed by those who have not taken the pains to study them is not all mere lip service. It is precisely their enigmatical character which proves to be their strength, and this enigmatical character, again, is due, in the sense now under consideration, to the curious mixture of allegory and realism, of vague idea and definite form, which characterizes them and invests them with the charm of a vivid dream. There is such intense outward life in them that it seems almost impossible not to be able to comprehend them; and yet their meaning is so hidden to us, or so intangible in itself, that it evades us at the very moment when we hope to grasp it. It is the lack of this contrast between intangible essence and tangible form that makes all later allegory so distasteful. In it, wrongly so-called idealized forms,—that is to say, forms out of which all individuality has been generalized,—are united with unpictorial ideas, and the result is an unutterable insipidity from which Dürer's realism happily saves him. We must not forget, however, that this fascinating incongruity is not of Dürer's intending, and we must be careful, therefore, not to impute wrong motives to him. But in this unconsciousness, again, lies part of the fascination of his work,—a fascination which it shares with much of the work of the primitive Italians,—it is *naïve*. There is incongruity, also, in much of the most modern art, but it is conscious,—it is *not naïve*,—wherefore it betrays itself as spurious, and is condemned.

II. THE CHRONOLOGY OF DÜRER'S ENGRAVINGS.

Our human sympathies, if nothing else, would suffice to explain why we are not satisfied with a general knowledge of the works of an artist whom we admire, but desire also to make his personal acquaintance, and

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to follow him in his development. To be able to do this, it is necessary to arrange the works of the artist in question in chronological sequence. If it had not been for this, there would have been no occasion whatever for the present attempt to make a new catalogue of Dürer's engravings. It would have sufficed to reprint Bartsch's catalogue, which has so well stood the test of time that, out of the 108 prints listed by him, 102 (Nos. 1-102 of this catalogue) are still by almost common consent accepted as being the work of Dürer, while those which later writers have endeavored to add (see Nos. 109-12 of this catalogue) have been as unanimously rejected. It is evident, therefore, that this time-honored authority has not been departed from because of disrespect. Bartsch has lately been attacked most unjustly. Sir Francis Seymour Haden has attributed a "barbarous and base origin" to what he calls "the Bartschian classification" (see "The Etched Work of Rembrandt." London: Macmillan & Co., 1895, p. 3), and although he refers more especially to Bartsch's Rembrandt catalogue, it is manifest that this harsh criticism affects all of Bartsch's lists. The accusation rests on a misunderstanding. Bartsch's catalogues are finding lists, and as such invaluable, and quite unreplaceable by chronological catalogues. The world, or at least that comparatively small part of it which cares for engraving and its history, owes a heavy debt of gratitude to Bartsch for the masterly manner in which he brought order out of chaos and made of a hideous mass of disjointed fragments an organized body. He erred, to be sure, and, being in most cases a pioneer, he did not know everything; but it would be the height of absurdity to bring criminal charges against him for these reasons, however necessary it may be to criticize and to correct him. Without such finding lists as Bartsch's no public print cabinet, no private collector, no dealer in prints could get along. Bartsch, therefore, upon whose shoulders stand all who work in the same field, deserves honor rather than obloquy.

Finding lists, moreover, may be definite and universally accepted, which chronological lists, in the very nature of things, never can be,

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since they will have to be remodeled continually with the growth of knowledge, and must always be influenced by subjective considerations. In the arrangement of the present catalogue and exhibition, either one of at least three chronological lists might have been followed:—Von Retberg's, published at Munich in the year 1871; the catalogue of the Dürer Exhibition held at the Museum of Fine Arts, in Boston, in the year 1888 (compiled by the author of the present catalogue), and the Rev. Charles H. Middleton-Wake's list, according to which the Dürers in the Fitzwilliam Museum, at Cambridge (England), are arranged. It was found advisable, however, to disregard all of these catalogues, and even the sequence now adopted was decided upon only after still another had been laid out and rejected. It will be seen, therefore, that the author has been quite as critical with himself as with others, and he does not hesitate to say that, after another ten years of occupation with Dürer's engravings, it is more than likely that he would again discard his present classification. Concerning Von Retberg's list, it may be said that it is inadmissible, because he occasionally allows his judgment to be misled by mere outward considerations which carry no weight whatever. Mr. Middleton's list, aside from differences of opinion arising in the case of individual prints, seems to suffer from too great positiveness. No artist's work can be classed according to ironclad rules which subject him to an inviolable law of progress, and deprive him of the possibility of going back to earlier methods, or taking up again a tentative effort which he may have abandoned for the time being. The present writer confesses that he despairs of ever being able to arrive at the knowledge which would make it possible for him to tell whether Dürer's "St. Ann and the Virgin" (No. 25 of this catalogue) was executed in "1498 or early in 1499," and he confesses still further, that he holds such knowledge unnecessary. If we can succeed in arranging an artist's work into fairly correct groups, following one another in tolerably reliable chronological order, we shall have attained all that is needed. It would be well to bear in mind in such cases the modest avowal made by Dr. Lippmann in

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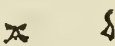
the preface to the second volume of the Dürer drawings edited by him. Not only does he point out the frequent "shifting of the art-historical point of view" in such matters, but he frankly confesses that his own views have already changed in regard to some of the drawings admitted to the first volume. The cautiousness here applied to drawings is quite as applicable to prints or to anything else.

In the case of Dürer, the difficulties to be overcome seem, at first sight, to be of the slightest, for out of the 102 plates universally accepted as his only 37 are undated, and out of these 3 can be dated approximately and tolerably closely, on the strength of external evidence. In the arrangement here adopted 13 undated plates precede "The Four Naked Women" (No. 14), with the date of 1497, the earliest date to be found on Dürer's plates. Then follow 14 more of the undated plates, until we come to the year 1503, which appears on "The Virgin Nursing the Child" (No. 29) and the "Coat-of-Arms with the Skull" (No. 30). Between the years 1504 and 1508, 7 of the undated plates have been intercalated, leaving only 3 to dispose of, which, as above remarked, are approximately datable on external evidence.

The plates really to be dealt with, therefore, are 34 in number, and for the ordering of the earliest of these (excluding "The Ravisher," No. 1, which has no mark of any kind), the monogram upon them can be relied on to a certain extent. Dürer not only took evident pride in his monogram, but it must be borne in mind also that it was, not figuratively, but absolutely speaking, his *trademark*. When, in the year 1512, he complained to the city council of Nuremberg that copies of his engravings were offered for sale, the copyists were ordered to take his mark off their copies, on pain of confiscation! No copyright law existed in those times, except in the way of obtaining a "privilege," which Dürer did, for instance, for his "Life of the Virgin" and "Small Passion" on wood. As soon, therefore, as he launched out for himself, he began to develop his monogram, which quickly reached its well-known form. (See Thausing, I, p. 344, 2d ed.)

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The earliest marks found on the drawings of the young Dürer are not really monograms. They consist of the initials of his name placed alongside of one another, the very earliest being that on the "Madonna and Angels" (Lippmann, No. 1), of the year 1485 :


 1 2 8 5

a capital A, pointed at the top, with a small d beside it. Two signatures of the year 1489, on the other hand, "The Cavalcade" (Lippmann, No. 100) and "The Three Lansquenets" (Lippmann, No. 2), offer two capitals placed alongside of one another, and on the second-named drawing the A is not even pointed, but rather spreading at the top. It is barely possible that these initials are later additions by Dürer himself, as we know of other drawings that he placed his monogram upon them years after they had been done. The "Orpheus" drawing (Lippmann, No. 159; see Supplementary Illustrations, No. VI), of the year 1494, again has the small d :

1 2 9 2 A d

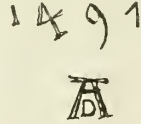
and the same combination is seen on the "Bacchanal" and "The Battle of the Tritons," after Mantegna (in the Albertina), both also of 1494, while a similar, but rather curious signature :

 1 2 9 5

is found on a drawing belonging to the year following, a child, copied from Lorenzo di Credi (reproduced by Ephrussi, opp. p. 36). On "The Women's Bath" (Lippmann, No. 101), dated 1496, the two capitals again appear, the A, however, quite pointed; and in the year 1497,

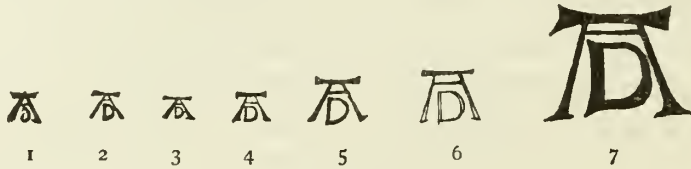
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finally, on the "Angel playing the Lute" (Lippmann, No. 73), we meet for the first time on a drawing the monogram as subsequently adhered to:



that is to say, the D inclosed in the A, and this latter spreading at the top. To the same year belongs the first dated engraved plate, which also has a similar monogram.

Turning, now, to the engravings, we may construct from them an evolutionary series, as follows:



No. 1 of this series is taken from "The Holy Family with the Dragon-fly" (No. 2 of this catalogue); No. 2 from "The Five Footsoldiers and a Mounted Turk" (No. 3); No. 3 from "The Offer of Love" (No. 4); No. 4 from "The Prodigal" (No. 5); and No. 5 from "St. Jerome in Penance" (No. 6). Omitting several intermediate stages, which show the gradual spreading of the A, we arrive at the first dated plate, "The Four Naked Women" (No. 14), of the year 1497, from which Fig. 6 is taken. The large monogram, No. 7, finally, is copied from one of the woodcuts of the "Apocalypse," which we know to have been published in the year 1498. If we compare with Nos. 6 and 7 the monogram, Fig. 8, from the "Erasmus," dated 1526 (No. 102 of this catalogue), which is



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the last engraved by Dürer, we recognize at once with what fidelity he adhered throughout his life to the form adopted in early manhood. (All but the last of the monograms here given were photo-engraved from unsatisfactory tracings,—the one of 1495 from the reduction in Ephrussi. They will do, however, to show the form of the letters, which is all that is needed.)

It is apparent from the initials and monograms which we have been able to examine, that, according to the evidence furnished by them, Dürer's earliest mark consists of a very pointed A with a small d alongside of it, and that the monogram, in its final form, does not appear, *in connection with a date*, upon either drawing or engraving, before the year 1497. After that date it is steadily adhered to, not, however, to the absolute exclusion of slight variations, which occasionally show a return to a more pointed form of the A, as, for instance, on the "Apollo and Diana" (No. 36 of this catalogue). As none of the engravings are marked with the *initials*,—the A and d or D placed alongside of one another,—the conclusion would seem to be justified that none of them (with the exception of "The Ravisher," No. 1, which has neither initials nor monogram) can be earlier than 1495 or 1496, and that "The Holy Family with the Dragon-fly" (No. 2), which still shows the small d, although enclosed within the A, cannot be later. And this date corresponds approximately to the time when Dürer settled down permanently in Nuremberg, and established a household, with probably a "shop," of his own. "And as I went away in the 1490 year after Easter," he writes in his family chronicle (L. u. F., p. 8), "thereupon I came back when they counted 1494 after Pentecost. And when I had come home again Hans Frey bargained with my father, and gave me his daughter, named Jungfrau Agnes, and gave me with her 200 fl. and celebrated the wedding, that was on Monday before St. Margaret's day [July 7] in the 1494 year."

It may be objected, of course, and with perfect truth, that the evidence offered by monograms is of purely external character, and hence, that

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too much weight must not be attached to it. Nor has it been admitted here to any great extent, except for the prints of the first period, the workmanship of which undoubtedly points to the same time. As to Dürer's workmanship in general, an examination of his prints will show that, with increasing command over the burin, he not only strove for greater regularity of line, but that he developed also the coloristic possibilities of engraving; that is to say, he endeavored, by variety of texture, which results from difference in treatment, direction, and combination of lines and dots, to suggest a feeling of color. He was in this a forerunner of the engravers of the Rubens school, who are usually credited with being the first colorists with the burin. As these efforts, however, are more especially noticeable in the dated engravings, and will be pointed out in the discussion of the individual plates, they need not here be dwelt upon. It will be sufficient to name as especially characteristic examples, which may help to make the matter clearer to the student by way of contrast, "The Virgin and Child with the Monkey" (No. 13 of this catalogue) and "The Virgin sitting by a Wall" (No. 75),—the former a fine specimen of pure black-and-white work, the latter the most developed example of coloristic engraving in Dürer's *œuvre*. It may be stated, also, that towards the close of his life he returned again to simpler methods.

But in spite of all the aids invoked, the sequence of the undated plates will always remain a subject for discussion. Plates 1–6, as here arranged, offer no difficulty, so far as workmanship is concerned. No. 2, "The Holy Family with the Dragon-fly," stands apart as regards the design, in consequence, no doubt, of the influence of Schongauer which is apparent in it, although others, as, for instance, Springer, detect Italian influences in it. With Nos. 7–10 it is different. The set character of the lining of the flesh in No. 7, "The Penance of St. John Chrysostom," would seem to point to a later time, but the general conception is rather archaic, and the shape of the monogram supports this conclusion. The beautiful little Madonna, No. 8, stands quite apart in Dürer's

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work, and the contrast between it and No. 9, "The Little Fortune," is positively jarring, while in No. 10, "The Little Courier," there is an apparently irreconcilable contradiction between the skilled although simple workmanship and the very archaic conception. In assigning positions to these plates, some influence has been allowed to the character of the monogram. The most serious difficulty, however, is caused by the undoubtedly most beautiful of Dürer's early plates, and, it might perhaps be truthfully said, the most satisfactory of all his Madonnas, "The Virgin and Child with the Monkey," No. 13. It is quite impossible to find a fitting place for it, and the one finally chosen, on the evidence of the workmanship and the character of the monogram, brings it into most uncongenial company. It would indeed harmonize better with the surroundings if it were placed immediately after No. 6, "St. Jerome in Penance," but that is inadmissible. The anomalous character of this plate has also been recognized by other writers. Springer (*"Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,"* 1877, p. 7) says of it that it completely "drops out of the line" of Dürer's other Madonnas. It is this difficulty which leads him to conjecture that the composition is not by Dürer, but was copied by him from some older original. (See below: IV. Was Dürer a Copyist?)

It may appear odd, also, to see the larger plates, Nos. 14-17, all dealing with the nude and evidently influenced by Italy or the antique, grouped together, to be followed immediately by quite a series of small plates, all dealing either with religious subjects or with events of Dürer's own time. This sudden break is, however, quite natural. We know that Dürer was deeply interested, even as a very young man, not only in the problem of the human figure, but also in antiquity; and we know, furthermore, that he was one of those dreamy yet ardent natures which are capable of quite losing themselves in a favorite pursuit, to the forgetting of everything else about them. We can imagine, therefore, how he gave himself up to what his wife merely considered his hobby, and how Frau Agnes, seeing her stores diminish

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and no profit in view, grew more and more restless, until finally she said to the dreamer,—with a bitter ring in her speech, according to the gospel of Pirkheimer; with the voice of an angel, according to that of Thausing,—“Have n’t you wasted enough time and copper and money on your naked women and your old heathen goddesses? No one will buy them! And now the fair is almost upon us, and if I am to keep a booth there, or if you want me to go to Frankfort the coming Easter, what am I to take with me? Why don’t you engrave something for good Christian folk,—some Madonnas and Saints, so that I may have something new to show,—and something that people want? You know what the pedlar said who was here the other day. He went away without buying anything,—and what a good customer he used to be! And besides the saints, there are the Turks and the peasants, about whom everybody is talking nowadays. They would sell, too!” So what could poor Albert do,—for he knew his Hausfrau was right,—but pack away his naked women and his heathen gods and goddesses, and go at the saints and the peasants and the Turks,—even if he did it with a sigh? And thus we have an at least plausible explanation for the sudden change which evidently came over the spirit of Dürer’s dreams at this time.

The difficulties here discussed are only a few of the leading ones. Others have been pointed out in the catalogue itself. That the chronological arrangement has not been absolutely adhered to for the dated plates,—the two series, “The Passion on Copper” and “The Apostles,” having been kept together,—will need no apology.

It goes without saying, also, that a chronological arrangement is indispensable if the works of an artist are to be studied with reference to the progress of his life in general, outward as well as inner. Dürer’s printed works are, indeed, far from having the autobiographical character of those of Rembrandt, his own personality being suppressed in them altogether, but they nevertheless conspicuously mark the events of his life, which was more varied than Rembrandt’s. In this respect,

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however, the present exhibition is deficient, as it comprises only Dürer's work on metal, to the exclusion of the woodcuts, of which there are about twice as many. When both are examined together, it is easily recognized how curiously two lines of thought struggle for the mastery over the artist immediately after his return from his early travels,—the one showing him to us apparently bent entirely upon the acquisition of knowledge, and finding expression in such studies of the nude as the "Four Naked Women" (No. 14) and "The Dream" (No. 15), with the "Adam and Eve" (No. 34) as its crowning triumph, all engraved by himself on copper; the other, and finally, in the course of his life, the conquering one, leading him on to the formulation of his religious convictions, through the medium of the woodcut as the more popular method of communication with the mass of his countrymen, in such series as the "Apocalypse," published in the year 1498,—contemporaneously, that is to say, with the studies just alluded to. We would find, furthermore, that the enigmatical compositions like the "Hercules" (No. 17 of this catalogue) are almost wholly confined to the work on metal done in his earlier years, while among the woodcuts there is really only one of a similar character, likewise called "Hercules" (B 127), and also a work of earlier days. We would be able, again, to trace his early connection with the humanists; we would note the extended activity which he displayed when at the height of his powers, in the service of the Emperor Maximilian, and the position which he made for himself among the scientific men of his time; we would recognize,—as, indeed, we may do also in this exhibition,—the portraits of the celebrated friends and patrons who remained true to him until the last; and we would finally see him, at the close of his life, giving to the world the result of those theoretical studies which, to his help or to his hindrance, he had followed so assiduously throughout his career. Still more interesting, however, than these reflections of outward events,—and to be easily detected even in this partial collection of his works,—are the signs of his inner development, which, in spite of the limitations of his

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nature and his environments, was steadily from the fantastic to the humane, from *bizarre* variety to greater simplicity, from whimsical conceits and misunderstood antique subjects to portraits and the expression of his own feelings and convictions. On the other hand, it needs no chronological arrangement to convince us, upon the testimony of his works, of the purity of his character, which ennobled also his art. Dürer was vain,—there is no gainsaying that,—but his vanity was of a gentle, so to speak, modest kind, which differed greatly from the vanity, the vice of the time, to which his great and learned friends fell a prey, at the head of them all the Emperor Maximilian, the last of the knights. But of the coarseness of his age there is not a trace in all his authenticated works, which is all the more remarkable as his activity as an engraver and publisher might easily have tempted him to pander to the tastes of the multitude, upon which he was dependent.

III. THE INFLUENCE OF THE ANTIQUE AND OF ITALIAN ART ON DÜRER.

An interesting factor in Dürer's artist life,—all the more interesting, perhaps, because enveloped in uncertainty, and therefore only vaguely traceable,—is the influence exercised on him by Italian art, and, either directly or indirectly, by the antique.

That Dürer visited Italy twice is now accepted as a fact by most of the writers who have occupied themselves with him,—the first time, while he was wandering about the world as an obscure journeyman painter, during the years 1490–94; the second time in 1506–07, when his work had already begun to spread his fame abroad. Of the first journey we have no definite knowledge,—only faint echoes of it here and there in his work and a vague allusion in one of his letters. Concerning his second journey we are fully informed, through the medium of the letters written by him from Venice to his friend Pirkheimer. But he did not come into contact with Italy through these journeys

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only. An undoubtedly great influence was exercised upon him, or at least a directing impulse given to his studies, by Jacopo de' Barbari, or Jacob Walch (*i. e.*, "Der Welsche," or "The Italian"), as he was called in Germany, himself a somewhat mystical personage, in spite of the critical labors expended upon him, more especially by Ephrussi. That Jacopo visited Germany is a fact. But exactly when we do not know, and it is equally unknown whether Dürer made his acquaintance in Nuremberg, either before or after his first Italian journey, or whether he met him in Italy. Jacopo de' Barbari seems to have been the first to direct the young Dürer's attention towards the study of the proportions of the human body, but having excited his thirst for knowledge, he refused to allay it, either from ill will or from incompetency. Possibly he was one of those men of whom Dürer in later years warned young artists to beware,—men who talk about things they cannot do. It is certain that Jacopo's art, as we know it from his engravings, betrays a weakly conventional rather than a scientific draftsman. Dürer, speaking of his early desire to know what others had written on the subject of proportion, makes mention of him as follows (L. u. F., p. 340): "However, as I find no one who has described anything, except one man, was named Jacobus, was a good, sweet painter, born in Venice, he showed me man and woman, which he had made from measurements, and although I took to mind the idea, how such things might be brought about, yet I could not obtain from him his reason, how he used his art, and although I was at that time still young, nevertheless I took the thing to heart, took up Vitruvius, he writes a little of the members of a man. Thus from the two named above, I searched for it out of my own resolution." And again he writes (L. u. F., p. 343): "For this before mentioned Jacobus would not clearly show me his reason, that I well perceived in him. But I took the thing up for myself and read Vitruvius, he describes a little of the members of a man." And in another place (L. u. F., p. 342) he says that he would have given a new kingdom for Jacob's knowledge. This was written in 1523, but although Dürer here

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calls Jacopo a "good sweet painter," recalling the impressions he had received from him in his youth, there was a time when he esteemed him differently. Writing to Pirkheimer from Venice in 1506, he says: "I let you know also, that here there are much better painters than Master Jacob is out there. But Anthony Kolb [for whom Jacopo had designed the large view of Venice published in 1500, a really very clever work] swears an oath, there lived no better painter on earth than Jacob. The others scoff at him, say: 'If he were good he would stay here.'" (L. u. F., p. 22.) Nevertheless, he thought better of him again in 1521. In the diary of his journey to the Netherlands (L. u. F., p. 170), Dürer notes that in the possession of the Lady Margaret, the governess of the Netherlands, in whose service Jacopo de' Barbari had died, he saw a number of good things, some of them by Jacob Walch. "I begged my lady to give me Master Jacob's little book [probably a sketch-book], but she said she had promised it to her painter."

These details are given here because the influence of Jacopo de' Barbari is repeatedly alluded to in the notes of the catalogue, and reproductions of a number of his engravings will be found among the Supplementary Illustrations.

Jacopo de' Barbari, however, was not the only Italian artist who influenced the young Dürer, although with no other does he seem to have come into such close contact. That he appreciated and studied Mantegna is apparent from the pen copies in the Albertina, Vienna, which he made from some of his engravings. (See also under No. 34 of the catalogue.) It is very curious to note how in these copies he translated the straight-line shading system of the Italian into the curved line more familiar to himself. An interesting series of copies by Dürer, in the British Museum, London, from some of the so-called "Tarocchi," has been reproduced by Lippmann (Nos. 211-18).

Concerning the influence of the antique, and its meaning not only for Dürer, but for the Northern nations in general, see especially the remarks under No. 34, "Adam and Eve."

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It may seem cause for wonder that Dürer, with the ardent admiration which he evidently had for Italy and the antique, and with his longing for formal Beauty, did not succumb to these influences, like the later artists of Germany and of the Netherlands. But he was too strong a man for that, he had too much of a personality of his own, and so, instead of a weakly imitator, he became a great artist, in spite of all his limitations.

IV. WAS DÜRER A COPYIST?

The story of Dürer's life has unfortunately been burdened with a number of questions, which are either of themselves of little or no importance, or which have been or can be definitely answered in the negative, but which, once having been raised, must necessarily be alluded to whenever his work is spoken of. Among these is the question as to the originality of a number of Dürer's earlier engraved plates:—Are the compositions represented in these plates his own, or did he merely copy them from some older artist? The plates in dispute are the following nine, here given with the numbers and in the order of this catalogue:

10. The Little Courier.
12. The Promenade.
13. The Virgin and Child with the Monkey.
14. The Four Naked Women.
15. The Dream.
16. The Rape of Amymone.
17. Hercules.
22. The Cook and his Wife.
27. The Lady and the Lansquenet.

Of these nine plates versions exist by an engraver who signs with a W. (See No. 14^a.) Thausing endeavored to show that this engraver was Wolgemut, Dürer's teacher, and that his plates were the originals, while those bearing Dürer's monogram were copied from them. He

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allowed, however, that the compositions of those of the plates in question which showed the influence of the antique or of Italy were based on studies or drawings by Dürer, as the spirit which they breathe is entirely foreign to Wolgemut. Colvin and Harck adopted Thausing's conclusions, and Springer also declared Dürer's engravings to be copies,—with this difference, however, that he substituted Jacopo de' Barbari (known as Jacob Walch in Germany, as already stated, whence the W) for Wolgemut as the author of those compositions which, like the "Hercules," betray the influence of Italian art. The question cannot be discussed here in detail. Those interested in it may consult the authors named, as advocates of the copyist theory, while on the other side Lehrs must be heard. (See List of Books for titles.) The argument of the writer last named, that Wenzel von Olmütz is the author of the W prints, and that they are copies from Dürer, would seem to be conclusive, the most convincing fact being this, that nearly all of the copies of the same subjects, by still other engravers, can be shown to be based upon Dürer's versions, and not upon W's.

V. DID DÜRER INVENT ETCHING?

The claim that Dürer invented etching is another of those disturbing elements needlessly introduced into the history of his life and work, alluded to at the beginning of the preceding paragraph. Thausing's attempt to substantiate this claim,—not, indeed, a new one,—would hardly need to be considered, if the authority enjoyed by his in so many ways admirable book had not led other writers on Dürer to follow him unquestioningly. Harzen, in his excellent essay on the invention of etching (in Naumann's "Archiv," 1859), has, indeed, settled the question conclusively; but Thausing brushes him aside contemptuously, and even states positively that he is wrong in ascribing the invention of the art to the armorers, who used etching for the decoration of arms and armor

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long before the process was employed by painters and engravers for the production of printable plates. He adds, on the authority of unnamed connoisseurs, that no armor decorated with etching is known which can be dated before 1520. In view of this state of things, it will be well to give, as concisely as possible, the leading dates and facts involved. They are as follows :

Recipes for etching on iron are found in manuscripts of the fifteenth century. (Harzen.)

A number of short swords, with etched ornamentation, still preserved at Bologna, must have been made between 1488 and 1506. (Harzen.)

The sword of Caesar Borgia, known as "the Queen of Swords," with rich etched ornamentation, the work of Hercules de' Fideli, was made between 1494 and 1498. (Yriarte.)

A sword in the Historical Museum at Dresden, also richly etched, and bearing the device of Barbara Gonzaga, who married Count Eberhard "im Bart" of Württemberg in the year 1474, is with great probability attributed to about that period by Mr. Max von Ehrenthal, the director of the museum in question.

The same museum owns also parts of a beautifully etched suit of armor, which Mr. von Ehrenthal is inclined to attribute to Hercules de' Fideli, and which, judging from the style of the figure compositions on it, must certainly be of Italian origin and of about the end of the fifteenth century.

Harzen has shown conclusively, although by circumstantial evidence, that the Hopfers, of Augsburg, produced printing-plates etched on iron, at least as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, if not earlier.

The earliest *dated* etching so far known, of the year 1513, "A Girl Washing her Foot," is by Urs Graf. A reproduction of this etching has lately been made at the Government Printing Office in Berlin.

Dürer's earliest dated etchings are of the year 1515, two years later than Graf's plate.

In justice to Thausing, however, it must be stated, that he could

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hardly have known about the work of Hercules de' Fideli, and that Graf's etching, although mentioned by Eduard His as far back as 1873 (see "Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft," VI, p. 146, No. 8), attracted no attention until lately.

It may be well to add that the "etchings" which have been attributed to the Master W with the sign somewhat resembling a key, to Wenzel von Olmütz, and to Hans Baldung Grien, are engravings.

A curious reference to "Scheidwasser" (aquafortis, nitric acid) is found in one of Dürer's rhymes, "Von der bösen Welt," *i. e.*, "Of the Wicked World" (L. u. F., p. 85):

Wer bei Bösen wohnt unverletzt,
Den kein Scheidwasser nit fretzt,

(who lives unharmed with bad people will not be bitten by aquafortis). The familiar way in which "Scheidwasser" is here used in a simile shows that it must have been well known not only to Dürer, but also to those to whom he addressed himself, at the time when these rhymes were written, which, it would seem, cannot have been later than 1510. Nevertheless it is usually accepted as a fact that the making of nitric acid, and consequently the knowledge of its properties, was a secret known only to a few at the time in question, and that it was not generally introduced before the thirties of the sixteenth century. (Lippmann, "Kupferstich," p. 49.) But however this may be, the dates above given are not affected by it.

VI. THE TECHNICAL PROCESSES EMPLOYED BY DÜRER.

Dürer made designs for wood-cutting, and himself produced printable plates on metal by engraving, by dry-pointing, and by etching. Of dry-points there are four: "St. Veronica with the Sudarium," dated 1510 (No. 62 of this catalogue); "The Man of Sorrows with Hands Tied,"

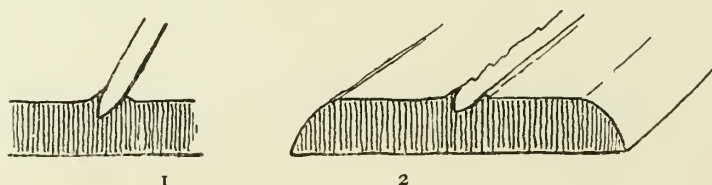
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dated 1512 (No. 64); "St. Jerome by the Willow Tree," also dated 1512 (No. 65); and "The Holy Family," undated (No. 66). Of etchings there are six: "The Man of Sorrows seated," dated 1515 (No. 81); "Christ in the Garden," of the same year (No. 82); "The Sudarium displayed by one Angel," dated 1516 (No. 83); "The Rape of a Young Woman," of the same year (No. 84); "The Man in Despair," undated (No. 85); and "The Cannon," dated 1518 (No. 89). All the rest of his plates are pure graver work.

The dry-point plates would offer no difficulty whatever, if Bartsch had not been curiously loose in his statements about them,—a fact all the more to be wondered at as he was himself a very skilled engraver,—and if Thausing had not beclouded the matter still further by groundless technical speculations. Bartsch speaks of three of these plates as "*gravé à leau-forte sur une planche de fer*," *i. e.*, engraved with acid on an iron plate. Only one of them, the "St. Veronica," he describes as a dry-point. Naturally enough he was followed in this by any number of writers, most of whom are content to sail in the wake of "authority," although Von Retberg and Hausmann long ago pointed out the true nature of these plates. Thausing (II, p. 69, 2d ed.), originally misled, perhaps, by Bartsch's statement, declares them to be etched plates, *i. e.*, plates bitten with acid, which Dürer was compelled to work over with the dry-point, because he did not know how to manage the acid, and therefore underbit them. The fallacy of the argument is obvious, but in order to be able to make this clear, it will be necessary to consider the technic of dry-pointing, and as this technic has never as yet been correctly illustrated, such a discussion will be of special interest to those who care for these matters. It need hardly be said that "dry-pointing" is neither more nor less than scratching on a bare metal plate with a sharp metal point. In etching, a point is also used, but its office in this case is to remove the "ground," that is to say, the thin coating of wax, etc., which protects the plate, and the lines thus laid bare are then bitten in, or, in other words, hollowed out in the plate, by the corrosive action

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of a mordant or acid. Etching, therefore, involves the use of a fluid, and hence is a *wet* process. Scratching with a point on the bare plate, on the contrary, with sufficient force to produce a furrow does not involve the use of a fluid. Hence it is a *dry* process, and as the instrument used is a *point*, it is called "dry-pointing." It is usually stated that the point, in plowing through the plate, throws up a ridge of copper, which it turns up alongside of the furrow, as the plowshare turns up the earth while cutting the furrow in the ground. This is not, however, strictly correct. In the first place, the dry-point cannot be compared to the plowshare, as it is not *pushed* through the copper, but is held like a pencil, and is *drawn* over the copper. The action of the plowshare is, indeed, that of the graver, which is pushed, and throws the copper out of the furrow produced. The point, however, does not remove the copper, nor does it turn it up alongside of the furrow,—it merely raises it



over the furrow on one side of the point (see Fig. 1), while on the other side the pressure produces a very slight ridge. The metal projection thus raised above the surface of the plate is called the *bur*. Generally speaking, the edge of this bur is jagged, as shown in Fig. 2. It goes without saying that the character of the bur depends on the angle which the point forms with the surface of the plate. These statements are the result of careful investigations made by the writer in preparation for a course of lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute, at Boston, some years ago. It is this projecting *bur* which catches the ink and prevents the clean wiping of the plate, thus producing the rich velvety effect so highly prized by the dry-pointer. By partly scraping the bur,

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that is to say, by reducing its height, its ink-catching capacity may be reduced, and by removing it entirely this capacity may be destroyed altogether, leaving only the furrow,—the incised line,—which will then print the same as any other incised line, simply producing a well-defined black mark. The wearing of the plate, which gradually reduces and finally obliterates the bur altogether, has the same effect as scraping. Impressions from a worn dry-point plate, therefore, show none of the velvety effects produced by such a plate in good condition. This is very well illustrated by the dry-points in different states here exhibited (see Nos. 65 and 66). We are now in a position to gage Thausing's theory, according to which Dürer first etched these plates, producing lines that were too shallow, and that he then entered these lines with the dry-point, to increase their printing qualities. As the action of the point *in*



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the line would have raised a ridge of bur *in* the line (see Fig. 3), it is evident that such a proceeding would have *filled* the line, instead of deepening it, and the effect would have been the very reverse of that sought, that is to say, the ink-carrying capacity of the line would have been reduced, instead of being increased. On the other hand, if the lines had been so shallow as to have no perceptible ink-holding capacity, in which case the bur might have risen above them, no artist would have thought of entering these useless lines with the point, painfully following one after the other. In the endeavor thus to save a spoiled plate all the freedom of dry-point work would have been lost, and it would have been much better to take a fresh plate, and begin anew.

That the plates now under consideration are dry-points admits of no doubt. There is a peculiarity in impressions from dry-point plates which, if discoverable, can always be relied upon, and which was first

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pointed out by the present writer in the introduction to the catalogue of the Dürer exhibition held in Boston in the year 1888. The bur thrown up by the point projects above the surface of the copper, so that, in a dry-point plate in good condition and with the bur unscraped, there are two kinds of lines, the sunken lines or furrows which hold the ink below the surface of the plate, and the raised, relief lines of the bur, which hold it upon the surface. If the printer wipes with sufficient force, and the bur lines are not too minute, the ink is removed from the back of the bur. The result in the impression is a series of embossed black lines, produced by the furrows in the plate, accompanied by a series of very fine white lines, pressed into the paper, caused by the relief lines of the bur. The plate may have been so wiped that the back of the bur is still covered with ink, in which case no white lines are seen. But wherever the depressed white lines appear alongside of the embossed black lines, the existence of dry-point work is proven. In the magnificent impression of "The Holy Family" here shown (see No. 66^a) careful inspection will disclose some of these sunken white lines, and in the impression from the original plate of the "St. Jerome by the Willow Tree" (No. 65^d) even the jagged outline of the bur can easily be seen in the strong dry-pointing of the monogram. It may be well to add that "dry-point work" is here used in its broadest sense, that is to say, any process which, by the use of some suitable instrument, produces a bur capable of catching the ink.

That Dürer should have dry-pointed only these four plates, and then abandoned the process in disgust, is no cause for wonder. All these things have their philosophy. Dürer had no care for chiaroscuro, and, therefore, really had no use for dry-pointing. It needed the advent of Rembrandt, the great chiaroscuroist, to produce the first really great dry-pointer. The "Master of 1480" or "of the Amsterdam Cabinet," in spite of the many dry-points which he produced, does not gainsay this assertion. In the first place, he is an isolated phenomenon; and in the second place, he used the dry-point merely as a handy substitute for the graver,

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with no thought whatever of the effects of light and shade which it is capable of producing.

Dürer's six etched plates need not detain us long. Their technical character is sufficiently manifest, and we know from ocular demonstration that, like the plates of the Hopfers, they were etched on iron (see under No. 82). Again, it is not to be wondered at that Dürer did not take kindly to the process. Great investigator that he was, it was quite natural that he should try all the processes he heard of, and, compelled as he was to work for the market, it was equally natural that he should not be averse to labor-saving devices. He, therefore, gave etching a somewhat more extended trial than dry-pointing, and he tried it in various directions:—for religious representations, like "The Sudarium displayed by one Angel," etc. (see Nos. 81–83), for the enigmatical nude pseudo-classical "Rape of a Young Woman" (No. 84), and finally and very characteristically, after a couple of years' interval, for a popular subject appealing to the interests of the day, "The Cannon" (No. 89). He had' evidently gaged it for what it really was to the many artisan-artists who used it in the sixteenth century,—a cheap substitute for engraving. Hence he used it once more in 1518 for "The Cannon," which, without doubt, he wished to bring out quickly, so as to turn to profit the momentary interest aroused by this great "dog of war," and then he threw it aside for ever. His care was for subject and for careful elaboration, and for these purposes the graver was the far more congenial instrument. It needed the development of the individualistic spirit, with Rembrandt again as the leader, to make of etching a great art,—the exponent of individualism among all the multiplying arts.

Up to the time of the appearance of Thausing's book, it would have been quite unnecessary to consider the technical character of Dürer's engravings. They were acknowledged to be pure works of the burin, and as such they had never been questioned.

In the laudable endeavor to heap honor upon his hero, Thausing attempts to make Dürer not only the inventor of *etching*, but also of

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forwarding by etching, that is to say, the process of first biting-in the lines of a plate, or of certain parts of a plate, and then finishing the work with the graver,—a process which is generally said to have been first practised by the engravers of the Rubens school, and which is to-day almost universally used by engravers. We have seen that Thausing tried to make out of Dürer's dry-point plates etchings gone over with the dry-point. Having thus failed in his attempt to work with acid on copper, Thausing goes on to say, Dürer began, about 1514, to etch on iron, and, succeeding in this, he "found in etching a welcome means of reducing the labor and securing the perfection of engraving on copper" (2d German ed., II, p. 70). This, we are told, explains why there is a total change of character in Dürer's engravings from the year 1514. His older plates yield brilliant black impressions. "This still holds good of the plates of 1513, the 'Madonna by the Tree,' B 35 (No. 67 of this catalogue), of the 'Sudarium held by two Angels,' B 25 (No. 68), and of the celebrated 'Rider' or 'The Knight, Death, and the Devil,' B 98 (No. 69). It is only the later engravings by Dürer which show the peculiar, more uniform, fainter tone, that delicate, silver-gray garb, which gives them such a distinguished appearance. The 'Madonna sitting near the Wall of a City,' B 40 (No. 75), forms, as it would seem, the transition to the new technic. The treatment of this plate is unequal, and shows, especially in the flesh parts of the child and the head of Mary, the sharper, blacker burin lines of the older plates. It takes its position, therefore, close by the border line of the two methods. On the other hand, the 'Virgin with short Hair, upon the Crescent,' B 33 (No. 74), and all the other six coppers of the year 1514, including such important pieces as the 'Melancholy' (No. 70) and the 'St. Jerome in the Chamber' (No. 71), belong to the new group. This suddenly appearing difference presupposes a method differing in principle. . . . From the evidence at hand, I can explain this difference only by the sharper edges of the burin line, as against the porous limits of the etched line. It would appear, therefore, that Dürer gave up etching

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upon copper only in so far as he blended it with his burin work. The dry-point had shown itself insufficient; he therefore subordinated it to the well-tried burin. He secured to the latter the preponderance, contenting himself with a very slight preparatory etching of his engravings, with a view to trimming them line for line and completing them with the graver. Even so the laborious work of the burin would receive considerable help, and a method would thus be established which has been practised for centuries. Compare, for instance . . . B 31 (No. 44) . . . and B 32 (No. 86), . . . and the great contrast in their general tone will be apparent at first sight. But upon closer inspection evidence of the traces of etching will also be found in the blunter, frayed lines of the plate last named. Experienced collectors and dealers, therefore, have long ago come to the conclusion that the faint gray impressions from Dürer's later plates are preferable to the lush, blacker ones" (2d Germ. ed., II, pp. 70-71).

It is significant that Thausing takes as his starting-point the "Madonna sitting near the Wall of a City," B 40 (No. 75 of this catalogue). This plate does hold a special place among Dürer's engravings, but for reasons quite different from the one assigned by Thausing. It was pointed out above that there is a progression noticeable in Dürer's work, from pure black and white to a coloristic effect. As extreme types "The Virgin and Child with the Monkey" (No. 13) and the plate just named were cited. In the former there is almost absolute uniformity of treatment (if we except a slight differentiation in the sleeve of the undergarment of the Virgin, as seen on her left arm), in the latter the variety of texture has been carried farther than in any other plate ever engraved by Dürer. The flesh is treated very simply,—almost wholly line, with but little dotting; in the garments of the Virgin at least three different textures are noticeable,—and let it be understood here that "texture" has nothing to do with the way in which the drapery reflects the light or breaks into folds,—in the sleeve of the under garment, in the fur-trimmed wrapper, and in the satin-like scarf which covers the head,

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hangs down the back, and is thrown over the knee, and to these must be added the variations in the arrangement and combination of lines and dots in the foreground, the wall, and the distant landscape. Thausing evidently overlooked this peculiarity of the plate in question, but, noticing a difference between it and other plates, sought for other reasons. It will be sufficient to point out the contradictions in which he involves himself and which are of a nature to destroy the force of his argument. Dürer is supposed to have been led to the use of the dry-point by some of the engravings of the Master of 1480, "the delicate, bloomy effect of which we must attribute principally to the dry-point" (II, p. 63). But he starts out with etching, and only resorts to the point after its failure. Again, we are told that the richness of these works is best seen in the first impressions before the monogram, while evidently the first impressions must be the barest of all, since the work of the point came in only later. After an interval of four years he began to etch on iron, which necessitates an entirely different treatment of the acid or mordant than etching on copper, and having been successful in this, he applied the process to copper again, but wisely abandoned the point, and instead trimmed every line with the burin. Nevertheless, although the action and the purpose of the burin would be to sharpen and clean the work, and thus to remove the imperfections inherent in the etched line, the traces of etching are still to be found "in the blunter, frayed lines" produced by it.

The subject might be dropped here, if Thausing's contradictory statements had not been adopted by later writers, one of whom, Mr. Middleton, the author of the well-known Rembrandt catalogue, even goes beyond him in the extent to which he would make etching a factor in the execution of Dürer's engraved plates. Thus, Thausing expressly names "The Sudarium held by Two Angels" (No. 68 of this catalogue) as one of the plates illustrating his older method, while, according to Mr. Middleton, it "was printed not from an engraved, but from an etched plate — *i. e.*, from a plate in which the design was both bitten in and

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completed with the acid." In the introductory note to his "Catalogue of the Engraved Work of Albert Dürer" (p. 6), in accordance with which, as before stated, Dürer's prints have been arranged in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (England), he summarizes his conclusions as follows :

First. He [Dürer] takes up a process already practised, that of direct engraving upon the copper, for the purpose of producing impressions upon paper.

Second. He adopts from the armorers the process of etching ; and, as a ready and effective method of producing the desired effect, he completes his work in "dry point."

Third. Finding that the plates so treated produced very few even moderately fine impressions, he etches a plate in which the acid shall bite so deeply that, to produce the effect he desires, no further tool work is required.

Fourth. He varies the process, and now etches the plate lightly, and after taking a few impressions — the "silvery-gray impressions" — deepens the lines with the point.

Fifth. He etches upon iron or steel plates, but not finding the result what he desired, he reverts to process 4.

No exception, as a matter of course, can be taken to paragraph 1 of this statement.

Paragraph 2 finds its reply in what has been said in regard to dry-pointing ; the bur produced *in* the bitten line would diminish its ink-holding capacity, instead of increasing it.

Paragraph 3 must be taken to apply to one plate only, the "Sudarium

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held by Two Angels," as "*a* plate" is spoken of in it, and as the plate named is the only one of which Mr. Middleton declares unequivocally that it "was both bitten in and completed with the acid" (see No. 70 of Mr. Middleton's catalogue). If this expression is to be taken literally, it involves the claim that Dürer knew the stopping-out process, the method of laying a re-biting ground, or the reversed process, which begins by etching the darkest parts first and then proceeds to the lighter, and so on to the lightest; but there is no evidence whatever in the six undoubtedly etched plates by Dürer that he was conversant with anything but *flat* biting. Nor does the character of the lines in the plate in question point to anything but the graver, in their steadiness, in their clean cutting, in the manner of their beginning and ending. This may seem to be simply the meeting of one assertion by another. It is most unfortunate that it should be so. There is nothing left to those interested but to investigate for themselves, and then to judge each assertion in the light of the information obtained.

In paragraph 4 the statement is repeated that Dürer "etches the plate lightly" and then "deepens" the lines "with the *point*." These plates, therefore, would differ in nothing from those described in paragraph 2, and the objection raised there would hold good also here. It is to be presumed, however, that "point" in this instance is merely a misprint for "burin." Writing of "The Virgin seated by a Wall" (Mr. Middleton's No. 71; No. 75 of this catalogue), he says: "The plate was first lightly etched, and then the lines which should produce the darker shading were deepened with the burin. In the latest impressions the lines have all thus been re-worked." And again of the plate immediately following, "The Virgin with Short Hair on a Crescent" (No. 74 of this catalogue): "The earliest impressions taken from the lightly-etched plate have the silvery-gray tone. . . . Later and darker impressions were printed from the plate after it had been re-worked with the burin." There are several objections to be made to these statements. In the first place, the method of proceeding here outlined quite contra-

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dicts the ways of Dürer, so far as we know them. The trial proofs from the "Hercules" (No. 17) and from "Adam and Eve" (No. 34) show that he did not carry on his plates *as a whole*, but that he *finished one part after another*. It may be claimed, however, that he changed his method in later years, and this conjecture does not involve an impossibility. But if he executed some of his plates in at least three stages, as it is averred of "The Virgin seated by a Wall,"—first lightly etching it, then strengthening the darker shading, and then re-working the whole plate with the burin,—where, it is quite legitimate to ask, are the proofs of these three distinctly different "states"? Finally, as to the re-working of the whole surface of the plate with the burin,—a terrible undertaking in plates of such delicate character, not at all to be compared with the reëntering of the lines, as practised by later engravers! Mr. Middleton himself, indeed, indirectly recognizes this difficulty. Writing of "The Knight, Death, and the Devil" (No. 69 of his, as well as of the present catalogue), he says: "It has been suggested that to conceal the error [in one of the feet of the horse], he worked the plate over again, hence the dark tone of the earlier [*sic*!] impressions. I cannot accede to this supposition; it would hardly have been possible to avoid leaving some trace of such re-work, and yet no such trace can be discovered." Is not, then, the question pertinent: Why are no such traces visible in the other plates which are supposed to have been re-worked?

As to paragraph 5, no remarks are needed.

Considering all these points, it is impossible to come to a conclusion differing from the statement made at the outset: Of Dürer's plates on metal, four are dry-points, six are etchings on iron, all the rest are pure burin work.

Nevertheless, it is an undeniable fact that some of the impressions from Dürer's plates are black, others silvery, while others again show still different qualities. The explanation of these differences is found in the varying methods of printing adopted and developed by Dürer and his printers in the course of time.

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VII. THE PRINTING OF DÜRER'S PLATES.

The different methods of printing exemplified by the impressions from Dürer's plates supply material for a most interesting chapter in the history of printing,—a subject, so far as it applies to the treatment of engraved plates, hitherto almost entirely neglected. This catalogue may claim to be the first in which special attention is paid to it. The conclusions arrived at are based on careful studies made in the Département des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, in the Print Room of the British Museum at London, and in the Royal Print Cabinets at Dresden and at Berlin. The notes there made have been tested by an examination of the Dürers in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston (most of which belong to the Gray Collection, the property of Harvard College), and of the fine collection brought together for this exhibition.

Schongauer's plates are printed with an intensely black, strong ink, which, being deposited on animal-sized (*i. e.*, glued) paper, assumes a bright gloss in the heavy lines. Practically, they are *clean wiped*, that is to say, all the ink is removed from the surface of the plate, so that only the lines drawn by the engraver show black on a white, or at least light ground. Wherever ink was left on the surface of the plate, between the lines or on unworked parts, it was by accident. This is true also of Dürer's early plates. Beautiful examples of such clean-wiped impressions are found in this exhibition in No. 7, "The Penance of St. John Chrysostom," and No. 13^a, "The Virgin and Child with the Monkey." In these impressions every line is clean and clear, and even in the most closely worked parts (the darkest shadows) the minute points of copper left standing between the crossing lines produce white points. Not all impressions, however, were as successful. If the plate was not sufficiently close-wiped, the lines were too full, and in the darkest parts they ran together, so that these parts formed black masses. The difference can very well be studied in the four impressions of No. 32, "St. Eustace," of which

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the darker impressions show this "filling." Impressions of this kind, if otherwise clean wiped, present strong contrasts, and collectors are apt to call them "brilliant." (Compare also No. 13^b.) The ideal of old printing evidently always was the "clean wipe," even in the darkest parts. Whoever has tried his hand at printing knows, however, that the clean wiping of a plate is not as easy a matter as it may seem to be. The first attempts,—and not *only* the first attempts of amateur printers,—are sure to be "smudged" impressions,—that is to say, impressions, which show tinting or spots where the ink has not been removed from the surface of the plate. Occasionally such an accident will happen also to a skilled printer, and the accident *may* be a fortunate one. It is most likely to happen in some part of the plate where the lines are tolerably close together, producing a spot of richer color than the engraver intended. Such presumably accidental smudging or tinting may be noticed in No. 8^a, "The Virgin on the Crescent without Crown." As humanity, however, learns by its misfortunes, its accidents, so did the printers. It was easily seen that this smudging or tinting could be utilized to good purpose, if it could only be brought under control, and the effort was made, therefore, to produce consciously what at first was brought about unconsciously. Such evidently conscious attempts at tinting are supplied by No. 9, "The Little Fortune," and No. 33^b, "Nemesis." But the printers must soon have become convinced that, with the strong, intensely black ink which they were in the habit of using, tinting under control was quite a difficult thing, and they began, therefore, to experiment with softer and warmer inks. A manifestly early attempt of this kind is seen in No. 36, "Apollo and Diana," and later ones can easily be found by the aid of the notes which accompany each print. For the present purpose, it will be sufficient to call attention to No. 94, "The Virgin crowned by one Angel," the two impressions of No. 95, "The Virgin with the Child swaddled," and No. 96, "St. Christopher with the head turned to the left." These impressions show "artificial" printing in the sixteenth century in its highest development.

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The change in the consistency and the color of the ink led, however, to still other results. The effect produced was much more delicate, not only because the ink was more delicate, but also because the lines were apt to be somewhat more wiped out. And as, very probably, the two kinds of printing were used simultaneously, and a plate was printed sometimes in the old style and sometimes in the new, the existence of impressions, quite different in effect from the same plate, is easily explained: an impression printed in the old style, with strong black ink, produces a black, heavier effect, another printed in a softer ink produces what is usually called a "silvery" effect. It is not at all an assured fact, therefore, that the "silvery" impressions are the earlier and the black ones the later; it may be said, indeed, that the reverse is more likely to be true. This is evidently so, for instance, in the case of impressions Nos. 27^a and 27^b, "The Lady and the Lansquenet." The first is a very fine dark impression in pure black ink, the second is much more delicate and silvery, but the fact that it shows slight and even tinting in the saddle-cloth and on the ground to the left betrays it as a later impression. It can be noticed also that in many cases the lines in the black impressions have a rougher appearance than the "silvery" ones. There is such an impression of No. 86, "The Virgin on the Crescent, with Crown of Stars and Scepter," in the Gray Collection, Boston: If the darker effect produced by it were due to the reworking of the lines with the graver, the edges of the lines ought to be sharper and cleaner than those of the lines in the silvery impressions, whereas the contrary holds true.

The stages of development in the art of printing engraved plates, as practised by Dürer and his printers, may now be summarized as follows: 1. Clean wiping, with intensely black, strong ink; 2. Attempts to obtain tinting with such ink, caused by accidents which the printers tried to bring under control; 3. The substitution of softer and warmer inks, which not only produced a softer effect, but allowed also of tinting on parts or over the whole surface of the plate, thus giving rise to "artifi-

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cial" printing. Toward the end of his career, and especially in his portraits, Dürer seems, however, to have preferred again simpler methods, with only very slight tinting. He saw, no doubt, that such artificial printing as may be seen in the two impressions of No. 95 was likely to lead to excess, and he therefore cried halt.

It is very curious to note that these skilled sixteenth-century printers stopped short at tinting, and did not also discover "retroussage," that is to say, the spreading of the ink between the lines by playing over the plate with a soft rag after it has been wiped. It was left for the printers of the nineteenth century to make this discovery. Not even Rembrandt knew "retroussage," although he, too, tried his hand at tinting and artificial printing, as we may see, for instance, in the splendid impression of the "St. Francis," B 107, in the collection of Mr. Theodore Irwin, of Oswego.

It would have been desirable to illustrate the development of printing as above outlined by actual demonstration, that is to say, by a series of impressions from one and the same plate, in different inks and differently wiped. To make this demonstration conclusive, however, it would have needed a plate, if not engraved by Dürer, at least approximating his manner. Such a plate, unfortunately, was not obtainable. There have, however, been placed on exhibition a number of impressions of a modern etching, which will serve to show what the printer can do with a plate,—a subject of which the public at large is entirely uninformed, to the detriment of the printer. For further explanations, see Supplementary Illustrations, Nos. XIV and XV.

The differences in the qualities of the prints from the same plate add to their charm, as they give an individuality to each impression, and allow of the exercise of taste by the purchaser. It goes without saying that Dürer was fully aware of these differences, but it is nevertheless interesting to find that he refers to them. Speaking, in his book on the proportions of the human body, of the impossibility of making two things absolutely alike, he says: "For we see, when we make two im-

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pressions from an engraved copper . . . that at once a difference can be found, by which we may know them from one another, for many reasons." (L. u. F., p. 218.)

VIII. DÜRER'S PRICE-LIST.

As the prices charged by Dürer for his prints are occasionally referred to in the following notes, it may be of interest to group together here all we know concerning them. In the Diary of his journey to the Netherlands, Dürer has entered also his sales, and from them we can in a measure reconstruct his price-list. The most important sale is that to Sebald Fischer, at Antwerp, from which it appears that his wholesale rates, so to speak, were as follows:—"The Small Passion" on wood, 4 sets for one florin; "The Large Passion," "The Apocalypse," and "The Life of the Virgin," 4 sets for one florin; "The Passion" on copper, 2 sets for one florin; whole sheets (including such engravings as "Adam and Eve," "Melancholy," etc.), 8 assorted for one florin; half sheets ("The Great Crucifixion," "The Nativity," etc.), 20 assorted for one florin; quarter sheets (the small Madonnas, saints, and peasant subjects), 45 assorted for one florin. Usually the sales are given in a lump, as "a set of all the copperplates, a Passion on wood, one on copper, two half sheets, and two quarter sheets, sold together for eight florins in gold." Single pieces or sets are priced only occasionally, as a "Passion" on wood, sold for 12 stivers (half a florin), and an "Adam and Eve," sold for 4 (one sixth of a florin). These prices are enough to make an admirer and collector of Dürer's works giddy, and to cause him to wish that he had been born four hundred years ago. And even if we take into account the much greater purchasing power of money at the time, they still remain ludicrously low. According to Thausing the living expenses of a Nuremberg burgher at the time were computed at 50 florins a year, while a salary of 100 florins a year was considered quite decent, and the yearly income of the highest official of the town, that of the imperial magistrate (Schul-

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theiss) was only 600 florins. Dürer himself, indeed, hardly considered 50 or even 100 florins enough for a year's living. Writing to Jacob Heller on March 19, 1508, about the picture of "The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand," just finished for the Elector Frederic, he says: "I worked on it nearly a whole year, and shall profit little by it; for I do not receive more than 280 florins Rhenish for it. One needs about that for food." Lange and Fuhse (p. 9, note 3) write on the same subject as follows: "The Rhenish gold florin, the value of which had considerably decreased, in consequence of continued deterioration of fineness, is calculated for the time in question as having a gold value of 5.36 marks (\$1.34). Its actual value in use, which, naturally, was very much larger, is apparent from the fact that about the year 1520 the schoolmasters of Nuremberg received only 20 florins in current coin a year, the 'Schneid-arzt' (cutting physician, *i. e.*, surgeon) 80 florins, the 'medicus,' 100 florins; the legal advisers of the council, 160-260 florins. The salary of the 'Schultheiss' (imperial magistrate), 600 florins, was quite exceptional, and evidently gaged in accordance with the duties of representation. Accordingly, translated into our present conditions, 200 florins would correspond to 4000 marks (*i. e.*, \$1000. The text says 6000 marks, but this is corrected in the errata). Perhaps, however, wherever Dürer mentions only gulden, instead of Rhenish gulden, we shall have to understand Nuremberg gulden. These were worth even more than the Rhenish gulden. A piece of the year 1523 has been calculated, from its weight, to be worth 6.80 marks." This would make it \$1.70, and accordingly would raise the purchasing power of 200 florins to about \$1270. In the introduction to the catalogue of the Boston Dürer Exhibition, the purchasing power of 100 florins in Dürer's time was assumed to be about equal to \$1000, and the prices of his publications were accordingly calculated as follows:

The large woodcut publications, "Apocalypse," etc., in quantities, \$2.50 per set.

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"The Passion on Copper," in quantities, \$5.00 per set.

The "full sheets," in quantities, \$1.25 each.

The "half sheets," in quantities, 50 cents each.

The "quarter sheets," in quantities, about 22 cents each.

The large "Passion on Wood," at retail, \$5.00 per set.

The "Adam and Eve," at retail, \$1.67 each.

Accepting Lange and Fuhse's valuation, these prices will have to be reduced as follows: \$5.00 to \$3.17; \$2.50 to \$1.59; \$1.67 to \$1.06; \$1.25 to 79 cents; 50 cents to 32 cents; 22 cents to 14 cents.

IX. THE SCOPE AND VALUE OF THE PRESENT EXHIBITION.

As before noted, and as the title of this catalogue indicates, only the works on metal by Dürer are included in the present exhibition, to the exclusion of the woodcuts. Of the works on metal all are shown in original impressions, except, as a matter of course, the few which are unique, or nearly so, and therefore not obtainable. These, however, are represented by facsimiles or copies. The doubtful and spurious works are also included, but they have been placed together by themselves (Nos. 103-12). No attempt has been made to show any large number of copies, beyond the few which happened to be within reach almost accidentally. Nor would the exhibition of such copies be desirable or necessary. Although there are some among them which may be called "misleading," the vast majority are sufficiently bad to condemn themselves. As an object lesson, a few late impressions from the worn plates have been admitted, so as to show how badly some of these plates have been abused, and to warn the intending collector of what he must beware. Even such bad impressions are still sometimes catalogued by unscrupulous dealers as "good" or "fine." The Biographical and Supplementary Illustrations hardly call for special mention.

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In conclusion, a word of regret,—regret that the fine collection here brought together for the edification and the information of the public, by the liberality of a number of owners, who, in accordance with the policy of the Grolier Club, must even remain unnamed, cannot be kept together. Not only is the quality of the impressions here shown, on the average, an exceptionally high one, but the important and distinctive feature of the exhibition is that of some of the prints two, three, and even more impressions are shown. It is this feature which,—with the aid of the notes of the catalogue,—will enable the visitor to make the comparative study of the methods of printing adopted by Dürer which is quite necessary to the full understanding of the interest offered by these prints, and which supplies the material for a chapter in the history of printing, hitherto, as before remarked, altogether too much neglected. Naturally, in the comparisons which had to be instituted between the different impressions, a frank expression of opinion could not be avoided. When the susceptibilities with which collectors are usually charged are considered, it will be thankfully acknowledged that the gentlemen who have contributed to this exhibition have shown themselves remarkably free from them. It must not be forgotten, however, that some of the terms used in describing the impressions shown do not really convey the unfavorable meaning which at first sight they seem to possess. Even a “smudged” impression, that is to say, one in which the tinting is still accidental, is not necessarily a bad one, more especially if considered as a document in the history of printing, and there is not an impression of this kind in the exhibition which any museum would not be, or at least ought to be, glad to possess. And this again emphasizes the regret already expressed, that this collection cannot be kept together for ever and deposited in a museum. As a rule, museums aim only to have one good impression of each print, and this is why comparative studies can only be carried on with difficulty by examining isolated examples in collections scattered all over Europe. The ideal collection would represent, not only each plate, but also all the various possibili-

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ties of each plate,—and the collection here shown comes nearer to this ideal than any public collection now in existence.

The list of books and papers consulted in the compilation of this catalogue, given elsewhere, may serve to point out, not only the facilities for the verification of the references in the notes which follow, but also the means for a thorough study of Dürer in connection with the exhibition. The principal references are, naturally enough, to the biography of Dürer by Moriz Thausing, and, for the convenience of those not conversant with German, to its English translation, except where the contrary has been expressly stated. The finding-list at the end of the catalogue will enable visitors to find without trouble any of the prints by, or attributed to Dürer, according to the numbers given to them by Bartsch and Passavant.

The abbreviations used almost explain themselves: B stands for Bartsch, R for Retberg, H for Heller, P for Passavant, M for Middleton.

Right and left, when used in the description of a print, is always understood to refer to the right and the left side of the person looking at it. The case is different when a person represented in the print is spoken of. "The left arm of the Virgin," for instance, actually means her left arm, although in the print it is seen on the right side.

BIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

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a NUREMBERG in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

1. View of the western side of Nuremberg, taken from the Hallerwiese, at the mouth of the Pegnitz. "From the low-lying point of view, the observer, facing north, sees, above, the Thiergärtner Tower, or the New Gate Tower, which was then still quadrangular, whence the city wall runs toward the right in front, while in the distance, wooded heights extend up to the houses of St. Johann" (Thausing, I, p. 123, 2d ed.). Heliotype from a drawing in colors by Dürer, in the Kunsthalle at Bremen. Above is written "Nörnperg," with Dürer's monogram, which is, however, a later addition. (Lippmann, No. 103.)

2. The houses of St. Johann, near Nuremberg. Above is written "Sant Johans Kirchn," *i. e.*, "St. John's Church," with Dürer's monogram, which is again a later addition. To the right are seen the chapel and the cemetery, where Dürer was to find his last resting-place (Thausing, I, p. 123, 2d ed.). Heliotype from the drawing in body colors, by Dürer, in the Kunsthalle at Bremen. (Lippmann, No. 104.)

3. Nuremberg in 1552. Etching by Hans Sebald Lautensack. The inscription over the coat-of-arms reads: "True representation of the praiseworthy city of the realm Nuremberg, against the rising of the sun. 1552." Lautensack etched also a companion view, "against the setting of the sun."

There are other views near Nuremberg by Dürer, drawn, probably, toward the end of the fifteenth century. Of these the "Weidenmühle" (willow-mill), still existing near the Hallerwiese, according to Thausing; the "Drahtziehmühle"

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(wire-drawing mill); a view of the village of Kalkreut; and the "Weiherhaus," near the Gleishammer, east of Nuremberg (Thausing, I, pp. 123-24, 2d ed.), have been reproduced by Lippmann (Nos. 331, 4, 105, and 220): two of them (Nos. 4 and 220) in the colors of the originals. The "Weiherhaus" was utilized by Dürer in the middle distance of "The Virgin and Child with the Monkey" (No. 13 of this catalogue). Ephrussi mentions furthermore a view taken from the Trockensteg, in the Albertina, and a large view of a village near Nuremberg, in the Bertini Collection, at Milan.

b DÜRER'S FATHER, ALBERT DÜRER THE ELDER.

Etching from the painting in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland, now at Sion House, London. The etching was made by Wenzeslas Hollar, in the year 1644, when the painting was in the collection of the Earl of Arundel. The inscription above reads: "1497. Albrecht Thvrer, the elder, and old 70 years." Old copies of this picture are preserved in the Staedel Institute, Frankfort, and in the gallery (Pinakothek) at Munich. Of the latter there is a lithograph by Strixner.

There is another portrait of Dürer the Elder, by his son Albert, in the gallery of the Uffizi, at Florence, which, according to Thausing (I, p. 47, 2d ed.), was painted at the end of Dürer's apprenticeship, and before he started on his wanderings as a journeyman painter (1490). Ephrussi (pp. 81, 82) describes also a drawing in the British Museum as a portrait of Dürer the father, by the son, and Springer (p. 171) refers to it as a study for the painting in Florence. Lippmann, however, does not reproduce it, which shows that he rejects it. A medallion portrait of Dürer the Elder, said to have been modeled by the son in the year 1514, is now discredited. (Thausing, II, p. 51, 2d ed.)

c DÜRER'S MOTHER, BARBARA DÜRER.

Facsimile of a drawing by Dürer, in the Print Cabinet at Berlin. (Lippmann, No. 40.) The inscriptions may be translated as follows: "1514. March 19. This is Albrecht Dürer's mother, she was 63 years old, and died in the year 1514, on Tuesday before Rogation-Day-Week [May 16], at two o'clock towards night." (See about the date of death, under "Melancholy," No. 70 of this catalogue.)

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d DÜRER'S BROTHERS.

1. Hans Dürer, not, however, the second youngest of the Dürer children, so often mentioned in Albert's biography, but an elder brother, by trade probably a tailor (Thausing, I, pp. 49, 50, 2d ed.). Photograph from the painting dated 1500 in the gallery (Pinakothek) at Munich. There is also a lithograph of this picture by Strixner.

2. Andrew Dürer, goldsmith, born 1484 (Thausing, I, pp. 51, 52, 2d ed.). Above is written, after the date, 1514, and the monogram: "Thus was Endres Dürer formed, when he was thirty years old." Photograph from a drawing by Dürer in the Albertina at Vienna. Another drawing, of a man seen in less than profile, also dated 1514, and also in the Albertina, is declared by Thausing (II, p. 67, 2d ed.) to be a second portrait of Andrew Dürer, and to have been utilized for the man seen in profile on the left in Dürer's etching, "The Man in Despair" (No. 85 of this catalogue). Ephrussi, however, who reproduces the drawing (p. 177), controverts this opinion.

The elder Dürer had eighteen children, but of these only two, besides Albert, were living in the year 1524, when the latter compiled his family chronicle. They were Andrew, mentioned above, and Hans, the second youngest, born 1490, painter and pupil of his brother. Three of the boys had been given the name of Hans. The full list of names, with dates of birth, as noted by their father and handed down to posterity by Albert, can be found in Lange and Fuhse, "Dürer's Schriftlicher Nachlass," pp. 4-7. Of none of them, however, are portraits known to exist, except of Albert, the celebrated painter; Hans, the supposed tailor; and Andrew, the goldsmith.

e ALBERT DÜRER.

1. 1484. Photograph from the drawing by Dürer in the Albertina at Vienna. The inscription reads as follows: "This I drew from myself out of a looking glass in the 1484 year, when I was still a child. Albrecht Dürer." As Dürer was born in the year 1471, it follows that he was then thirteen years old.

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2. As a youth. Reduced reproduction of the drawing by Dürer, in the University Library at Erlangen. The inscription, "Martin Schön Contrefeit," and the date, 1465, are later additions. A full size reproduction accompanies the article by W. von Seidlitz (*Jahrb. der K. preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XV, pp. 23-26), in which attention was called to this portrait for the first time. (On the same mount are grouped together reduced reproductions of the four earliest known portraits of Dürer by himself. Compare Nos. 1, 3, and 4.)

3. 1493. Engraver-etching, by Louis Schulz, from the painting by Dürer in the possession of Mr. Eugen Felix, of Leipsic. Above is written: "1493. My affairs go, as it stands above," *i. e.*, according to the will of heaven. An old copy is in the Museum at Leipsic. It was this copy on which Goethe based his enthusiastic description in his "Annals" for 1805. For Thausing's speculations regarding the supposed connection of this picture with Dürer's marriage with Agnes Frey, in the year 1494, see his first volume, pp. 131-134, 2d ed.

4. 1498. Photograph from the painting by Dürer, in the gallery of the Prado, at Madrid. The inscription reads: "1498. I painted this from my figure, when I was six-and-twenty years old," followed by the monogram. A duplicate, in the gallery of the Uffizi at Florence, is, according to Thausing (I, p. 187, 2d ed.), a copy.

5. 1498. Etching by Wenzeslas Hollar, executed in the year 1645, from a similar picture, which was at the time in the collection of the Earl of Arundel. The position is reversed, and the inscription, identical as to matter, stands near the lower margin, whereas in No. 4 it is placed under the window, with the date and monogram.

6. 1504, 1505? Photograph from the best-known of Dürer's portraits of himself, in the gallery (Pinakothek) at Munich. According to Thausing (II, pp. 97-98, 2d ed.), "the picture is in very bad condition to-day. Little is left of its original coloring, which, without a doubt, was quite bright and clear. Repainting and brown varnish have given it the look of a picture by a late artist of the Netherlands, who is in

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search of chiaroscuro. Through the black repainting of the background, there may still be seen, on the right, traces of a tablet with curved outlines, and formerly light in color, with an inscription. The present inscription, as well as the monogram and the date, 1500, are falsifications, and have been painted in powdered gold. (The inscription reads: 'Albertus Durerus Noricus ipsum me propriis hic effingebam coloribus ætatis anno XXVIII.') The year 1500 is altogether improbable for this portrait of Dürer by himself. This is shown by comparison with all his other portraits and paintings in general, but more especially with the far more youthful portrait of 1498, also by himself, in Madrid. In my opinion the picture cannot have originated before 1503, and not after 1509,—perhaps 1504 or 1505, by way of mere suggestion."

7. Engraving by François Forster, executed in 1822, from the painting in Munich (see No. 6). Dedication proof, with only the engraver's name, inscribed to "Mr. Muller."

8. Engraving by M. Steinla. The original is not known. Nagler, in the list of Steinla's works, "Lexicon," XVII, p. 207, merely says: "Albrecht Dürer, $\frac{3}{4}$ view, different from the picture in Munich." The probability is that it is a free adaptation of this picture.

9 and 10. 1508-11. Dürer introduced himself into his three most celebrated pictures,— "The Feast of the Rosary," painted for the German merchants of Venice in the year 1506; "The Assumption of the Virgin," painted for Jacob Heller, finished 1509; and "The Trinity," or "All Saints" picture, painted for Matthew Landauer, and dated 1511. An outline of "The Feast of the Rosary" is given by Thausing (I, opp. p. 352, 2d ed.). Dürer, who stands in the middle ground, on the right, with his friend Pirkheimer behind him, holds in his hand a large sheet of paper, on which is written: "Exegit quinqvemestri spatio Albertvs Dvrer Germanvs MDVI.," and the monogram. Of the two other figures illustrations are here shown. No. 9 is a facsimile from one of Dürer's studies for "The Assumption of the Virgin," in the Print Cabinet at Berlin (Lippmann, No. 23). On the tablet which Dürer holds is his mono-

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gram, and below it the date, 1508, and the words: "Er selber," *i. e.*, "He himself." On No. 10, an engraving by Lucas Kilian (1579-1637), known as "Dürer's Temple of Honor," the figure from the "Assumption" is given on the left, while that from the "All Saints" picture stands on the right, both as they appear in the finished pictures, except that they do not hold the tablets with the inscriptions. The inscription on the "Assumption" reads: "Albertvs Dvrer Alemanvs faciebat post virginis partvm 1509;" that on the "All Saints" picture: "Albertvs Dvrer Noricvs Faciebat Anno a Virginis Partv 1511." An etching by V. Jasper of the last named figure is also given by Thausing, as a frontispiece to his second volume.

II. 1520. From a portrait painted from life at Antwerp, in the year 1520, by Thomas Vincidor, of Bologna. Engraved by Andr. Stock, 1629. Thomas Vincidor, or Tommaso Vincidore, was a pupil of Raphael, who had come to the Netherlands with a letter of introduction from Pope Leo X, to superintend the weaving of the tapestries from the cartoons of Raphael and his pupils. It was from him that Dürer first learned of the death of Raphael. The two seem to have become quite intimate, for they exchanged presents, and Dürer gave to Tommaso a complete set of his prints, to be sent to Rome to another painter, who was to send in return Raphael's works, meaning, without doubt, Marcantonio's engravings after Raphael (Thausing, II, p. 187, 2d ed.). It is not known what has become of the original.

12. "Albert Durer G^r," *i. e.*, "engraver," and therefore holding a copper plate and a burin. Engraved by Edelinck. (R.-D., VII, p. 253, No. 193, 3d st.) Thausing suggests that this "not very exact" portrait may be based on the one painted by Tommaso Vincidore, just described (No. 11).

13. A slight sketch made by Dürer during his last illness, and offering quite a pathetic interest from the words written upon it by the patient: "Where the yellow spot is and [I] point with the finger to it, there it hurts me." It is evident that the drawing was sent to some physician

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for his advice. (See Cust, p. 80, for the opinion of a modern physician, Dr. Norman Moore, on the cause of Dürer's death, based on this drawing and on the symptoms, as described by the artist himself.) Heliotype from the drawing, slightly washed with color, by Dürer, in the Kunsthalle at Bremen. (Lippmann, No. 130.)

14. At the age of fifty-six years. Woodcut, B 156, published after Dürer's death. Above is the legend: "Albrecht Dürer portrayed at the age of his LVI. year." Below twenty-four lines of rhymes, in three columns of eight lines each. In the upper left corner is Dürer's coat-of-arms, without date or monogram. According to Bartsch there are three states of this cut. The impression exhibited is of the second state. As Dürer was born May 21, 1471, and died April 6, 1528, the age given on the cut would place the design at least into the year 1527. Thausing, however, is of opinion that the drawing was made after Dürer's death, possibly with the aid of a death mask (II, p. 295, 2d ed.). That it was not published until after his death is apparent from the verses, and the fact that the date of the artist's demise is wrongly given,—May 6, 1528, instead of April 6,—would seem to argue still further that the cut must have been issued some time after the event, for certainly such a mistake could not have been made so long as its memory was still fresh in the minds of Dürer's friends.

15. A very close recutting (Bartsch's Copy A) of the third state of the woodcut described under No. 14, with the date 1527 and Dürer's monogram inserted in the coat-of-arms. This is a very good example of the close facsimiles made by the woodcutters of the sixteenth century, showing that they must have understood the art of transferring to the wood the cut to be reproduced.

16. At the age of fifty-six years. Reversed copy, by an unknown engraver, of an etching made by Melchior Lorch in the year 1550. (See Bartsch, IX, p. 505, No. 10.)

17. Same as the preceding, converted into a chiaroscuro by the addition of a tint block.

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18. Process reproduction of a drawing from a marble statue by M. J. Ezekiel, an American sculptor residing at Rome,—one of a series of statues of artists, all executed by the same sculptor, for the decoration of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, at Washington.

Another portrait of Dürer by himself, of the year 1492, was in the possession of the Imhoffs, at Nuremberg, but Thausing (II, p. 190, 2d ed.) is of opinion that it was a forgery. Numerous suggestions have been made as to likenesses of Dürer occurring in his earlier works. Springer sees him in the Adam in the "Studies for Adam and Eve" (No. 112 of this catalogue), in which he would detect his earliest engraving. He has also been discovered in the young man facing full front in "The Five Soldiers and a Turk" (No. 3 of this catalogue), and even in "The Prodigal" (No. 5). Springer ("Dürer," p. 14) sees him in a drawing of two horsemen, in the cabinet at Munich, and Wustmann points him out in the woodcut which represents Celtes presenting his edition of Roswitha's comedies to Frederic the Wise. (*Zeitschrift f. b. Kunst*, XXII, p. 193.) Finally, it has been claimed that his representations of Christ are all modeled on his own likeness. The Emperor Maximilian I is said to have complained that every one who could draw a crooked nose thought he could draw his portrait. So Dürer might perhaps complain that every long-headed young man with flowing curls was supposed to be he. As to the shape of Dürer's head, and as to his countenance in general, the portraits here brought together, mostly by his own hand, give curious evidence. Did his head shrink, and change, from an almost abnormally long one to a round one? Or did he flatter himself in his earlier portraits? Great and good man that he undoubtedly was, it cannot be denied that even he was tainted, however mildly, by the leading vice of his age,—vanity (see Introduction, p. xx), and, considering the praise showered upon him during his lifetime, the fact that he was not utterly spoiled shows his goodness still more markedly. It is quite likely, therefore, that he did flatter himself. Did he, possibly, not set his teeth, when he painted or drew his portrait, thus lengthening the lower part of his face? But even this assumption does not entirely remove the difficulties which stand in the way of reconciling these different portraits. The two earliest drawings of himself (Nos. 1 and 2), as a boy and as a youth, show a very long head, and it is not to be supposed that he was even then trying to flatter himself. On the other hand, the portrait of 1493 (No. 3), which is of all his portraits the most frank, the most ingenuous, certainly shows a somewhat rounder head than either those which precede it or the one which immediately follows, of the year 1498, in which we see him arrayed in the garb of a "dandy" of his day (No. 4). But the palm is carried off in this respect by the celebrated Munich portrait (No. 6);

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and this again is flatly contradicted by the only portrait which we have of him, painted from life by another artist,—that by Tommaso Vincidore, executed in Antwerp, in 1520. The later portraits, such as the woodcut published after Dürer's death (No. 14), are quite in harmony with this of the year 1526, but in the little sketch sent to the physician (No. 13) Dürer himself again reverts to an indication of his earlier looks. Did he possibly lose his teeth comparatively young? That would certainly affect the lower part of the face very decidedly, and quite in a contrary sense to the suggested artificial lengthening in earlier days.

f DÜRER'S WIFE, AGNES FREY.

1. Inscribed "Mein Agnes," *i. e.*, "My Agnes," followed by the monogram, which, judging from the shape, would, however, seem to be a later addition. This is supposed to be the earliest drawing extant of the young wife of Albert. It shows her in her kitchen costume, the head supported on the right hand, as if she had fallen asleep from sheer exhaustion by her housework. Thausing (I, p. 142, 2d ed.) supposes it to be a joke by the young husband. Photograph from Dürer's drawing in the Albertina, at Vienna.

2. Facsimile of a drawing by Dürer in the Kunsthalle at Bremen (Lippmann, No. 113). Thausing (I, p. 142, 2d ed.) mentions such a drawing, but says of it that it presents "still the same narrow girl-face with the straight nose" as No. 1. Ephrussi, who reproduces the drawing under the title "Portrait d'Agnes Frey," says (p. 35) that it shows her "somewhat more aged" and "impressed by a precocious gravity," while Lippmann describes it as the portrait of a woman with "lean, sickly look," and suggests that it may be the sister of Agnes, Catherine.

3. 1500. Photograph from a drawing in colors by Dürer, in the Ambrosiana, at Milan. There is no date, but the year 1500 is probable, in view of the drawing described under No. 5. Agnes Dürer here appears, according to Thausing (I, p. 143, 2d ed.), "as the tidy, chaste housewife, with head and eyes lowered, in white cap and apron, in green, richly trimmed dress, over it a red shoulder cloth, trimmed with black, at the belt the well-filled leather pouch, in the hand a large handkerchief."

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4. 1500. According to Thausing (I, p. 143, 2d ed.), the drawing just described served Dürer as a model for one of the costume drawings, in color, in the Albertina, at Vienna. The wood-engraving in colors here shown, by F. W. Bader, of Vienna, from the drawing as stated, makes it evident that the Milan and the Vienna drawings are almost identical. Above is written: "Thus they dress in the houses, Nuremberg." Date assumed, as under No. 3.

5. 1500. Another of Dürer's costume studies in the Albertina, for which his wife is supposed to have served him as a model. Above is written: "Think of me in your kingdom, 1500. Thus they go to church at Nuremberg." Wood-engraving in colors, by F. W. Bader, of Vienna, from the drawing as stated.

6. 1500. A third costume study, for which again Agnes Dürer is supposed to have served as a model. Original in the Albertina. The inscription on it reads: "Thus the women of Nuremberg go to the dance, 1500." Wood-engraving in colors, by F. W. Bader, of Vienna, from the drawing, as stated.

7. 1504. Above, under the date, Dürer's monogram and "Albrecht Dürerin." This silver-point drawing shows Agnes Dürer, according to Thausing (I, p. 144, 2d ed.), "in full development and in the flower of her beauty." Facsimile of the drawing by Dürer, in the collection of Dr. Blasius, at Brunswick. (Lippmann, No. 133.)

8. 1521. In the Netherlands Dürer bought various pieces of finery for his wife, among others, in Bergen-op-Zoom, on December 3, 1520, "a Netherlandish thin kerchief for the head." In this head-dress, well known from pictures of the Flemish school, according to Thausing (II, pp. 191, 192, 2d ed.), Dürer portrayed his wife, upon his return to Antwerp. The facsimile here shown is from the original in the Print Cabinet, at Berlin. (Lippmann, No. 64.) The inscription reads as follows: "Albrecht Dürer drew this from his wife at Antwerp in the Netherlandish dress in the year 1521, when they had been married XXVII years."

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9. 1521. Photograph from a leaf from the sketch-book used by Dürer during his journey to and from the Netherlands, original in the Court Library, at Vienna. On the right is Agnes Dürer, over whose head is written: "On the Rhine, my wife, near Boppart." Above the head of the young girl on the left are the words: "Kölnisch gepent," *i. e.*, "Cologne binding," showing the way in which the girls at Cologne used to bind up their hair. The drawing was made on the return journey. It is the last portrait we have of Dürer's "aged wife" (Thausing, II, pp. 206, 207, 2d ed.).

Mention is made also of a medallion likeness of Agnes by her husband, but, like all the other things of this kind, it is now looked upon as a falsification (Thausing, II, p. 51, 2d ed.). Dürer's wife, on the testimony of the undoubtedly prejudiced, aged, gouty, and therefore testy Pirkheimer, has for centuries enjoyed the reputation of being a sixteenth-century Xantippe, who, if she did not directly kill her husband, was at least the cause of hastening his death, and who certainly led him a sad life, by reason of her cupidity and her acrimony. Later writers, and more especially Thausing, have gone to the other extreme, and have made of her, if not an angel, at least a most exemplary, faultless housewife, and besides this spiritual beauty, they have claimed for her also fleshly beauty. Her youthful portraits do show that she was not uncomely, but she can hardly be called a beauty. She simply had the attractiveness of all well-developed, healthy female bodies. As to her spiritual beauty, it is to be feared that the later portraits bequeathed to posterity by her husband will not help to substantiate all the claims advanced in her favor by her latter-day advocates. Even the evidently flattered drawing "in the Netherlandish dress" reveals the countenance of a woman who knows her mind, which, to be sure, is not a fault, if the mind be all right. But in the portrait drawn on the Rhine there is a sullen,—one is tempted to say a somewhat malignant,—expression, which makes us sigh for poor Albert. Even if not a Xantippe, this woman cannot have been a fit companion for the dreamy, speculative, ardent spirit which dwelt in the body of her husband.

8 DÜRER'S COAT-OF-ARMS.

Reduced reproduction of the woodcut, B 160, dated 1523 (from Cust, p. 9). "In the year 1523," writes Thausing (II, p. 269, 2d ed.), "Dürer devoted a nice large woodcut to his own coat-of-arms, with the

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open door on the tri-mountain ('Dreiberg') surmounted by the torso of a negro. It is the same coat which was used already by his father, who may even have brought it with him from his Hungarian home, for the 'Dreiberg' is an attribute frequently occurring in Hungarian coats." The door on the escutcheon involves a pun, being an allusion to Dürer, or Thürer, as the name may also be written, the English equivalent of which would be "Doorer."

A slight drawing of Dürer's coat-of-arms is in the British Museum. (Lippmann, No. 264.) The family coat-of-arms, that is to say, the Dürer coat allied to another, which latter is supposed to be that of Dürer's mother, is painted on the back of the portrait of Albert Dürer, the elder, by his son, in the gallery of the Uffizi, at Florence. For a full description see Thausing, I, p. 45, 2d ed.

h DÜRER'S HOUSE IN NUREMBERG.

Etching by J. C. Erhard, 1816, from a drawing made by J. A. Klein, in the year 1815. This is the house in the Zistelgasse, near the Thiergärtner Gate, bought by Dürer on June 14, 1509, formerly owned by Bernhard Walther, the astronomer, and still known as the "Dürer House" (Thausing, I, p. 150, 2d ed.).

The house which the elder Dürer bought on May 12, 1475, and in which his celebrated son spent his childhood and youth, is also still standing. It was known in the sixteenth century as the corner house of the goldsmith, Peter Kraft, "unter der Vesten," *i. e.*, below the castle, to-day called "Burgstrasse," or Castle Street, and is now, according to Thausing (I, p. 42, 2d ed.), numbered 934.

i DÜRER'S TOMB.

Drawn and etched by Christ. Rosee. Thausing writes (II, pp. 295-296, 2d ed.): "Dürer died in Passion Week, April 6, 1528, in his fifty-seventh year, for the completion of which he was still wanting forty-four days. His corpse was interred in the tomb of the Frey family, in St. John's cemetery. The large tombstone, laid down flat, in accordance

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with local custom, is provided at its head with a rising desk, the simple bronze tablet on which bears the following classical epitaph by Pirckheimer :

ME. AL. DV.
QVICQVID ALBERTI DVRERI MORTALE
FVIT, SVB HOC CONDITVR TVMVLO.
EMIGRAVIT VIII. IDVS APRILIS
MDXXVIII.

(To the memory of Albert Dürer. What of Albert Dürer was mortal, is laid away beneath this tumulus. He emigrated April 6, 1528.) Under this the monogram of Dürer. The mark which is celebrated the world over was not sufficient, however, to shield Dürer's grave from desecration in his own home. The common custom that the tomb of a family should be 'cleared out' after its extinction, and made over to the hospital for further utilization, was also carried out in this case without any consideration whatever. But the family of the Freys came to extinction already with Dürer's wife Agnes and her sister Catherine, who also was childless. Hence the seventeenth century buried in this grave six beneficiaries, one after the other. Then Joachim von Sandrart bought the tomb, provided it in the year 1681 with his bombastic inscriptions in praise of Dürer, and left it to the Academy which he had organized at Nuremberg. This latter again devoted it to the burial of such foreign artists as had no tomb of their own. From these facts it is sufficiently evident that the skull which was picked up in this tomb, among a number of others, in the year 1811, and which is still preserved in Nuremberg as the skull of Dürer, has no claim whatever to this name."

DÜRER'S
ENGRAVINGS, DRY-POINTS,
AND ETCHINGS.

DÜRER'S ENGRAVINGS, DRY-POINTS, AND ETCHINGS.



1 THE RAVISHER.—B 92; H 893; R 1; M 1.—WITHOUT
EITHER MARK OR DATE.

a. Very vigorous impression, on bull's-head paper. Intensely black ink, very glossy in the heavy lines, clean wiped.

b. Heliotype reproduction of the copy which Bartsch describes as "trompeuse," and which is, indeed, misleading at first sight. On closer inspection it is found, however, to differ in many details. To the sign for the detection of the copy given by Bartsch may be added the following:—In the original the little bush close to the left shoulder of the man is fairly well separated from it, while in the copy it almost touches it; the shading of the left thigh of the man in the original consists of only one system of lines, running the long way of the limb, while in the copy there is a second system of lines laid across the first.

The impressions from this plate in the Print Room of the British Museum, London, the Département des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and the Royal Print Cabinets at Dresden and Berlin, are all similar to *a*, *i. e.*, printed in strong black ink, clean wiped.

Very primitive handling, especially in the flesh of the woman, which is modeled with little scratches ("feathery"). In this respect the copy also differs, showing that it is by an at least somewhat later engraver, who could not force himself to be as primitive as his original. Bartsch and Heller think that the design is copied from some older master. Thausing doubts its being by Dürer, as the style "points to a period before that in which Dürer began to work." Harck says that it agrees in workmanship with "The Great

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Courier," and that, as this is universally rejected, the two must fall together. If this were so, however, the "Five Footsoldiers and a Mounted Turk," No. 3 of this catalogue, would also have to be abandoned, despite the monogram, for the "Footsoldiers" is very similar to "The Ravisher" in treatment, especially in the modeling of the face of one of the figures, which is quite "feathery." Lehrs, discussing Harck's theories, upholds their authenticity.

Retberg assigns it to before 1495; Heller, to the period between 1486 and 1500; Middleton says of it, "probably executed in 1494." It certainly is, among all the plates ascribed to Dürer, the most primitive in design as well as in execution, and, if really by Dürer, may have been engraved before his first journey,—that is to say, before or in the year 1490. (See Introduction, p. xx. For "The Great Courier" see No. 103 of this catalogue.)

Bartsch calls this engraving "Le Violent"; Heller, "The Woman defending herself against the Attacks of a Man"; Hausmann, "The Man using Violence" (Der Gewaltthätige); Retberg, "Death, the violent old Man" (Der Tod, gewaltsame Greis); Rosenberg, on the strength of an old inscription in the scroll above the figures, declares the subject to be an allegory of "Envy"; Heller sees in it merely the representation of an attempt of a wicked old man upon an unwilling woman, but the explanation most generally accepted is that given by Thausing (I, p. 205): "It is the struggle for existence. Death, represented as a savage,—a dried-up hollow-eyed gray-beard,—is trying to offer violence to a young [?] girl, in burgher costume, who represents life." (Compare the figure of Death in the "Four Riders of the Apocalypse" in Dürer's woodcut series, illustrating the Apocalypse, B 60-75; see also Frimmel, p. 26.) Allihn, on the other hand, p. 50, connects the subject with the belief in witchcraft, and sees in the male figure an *incubus*, a demon in the assumed shape of a naked man, seeking the ruin of a human being.

2 THE HOLY FAMILY WITH THE DRAGON-FLY.—

B 44; H 643; R 3; M 3.—MONOGRAM WITH A POINTED A AND A SMALL GOTHIC d WITHIN IT,—THE MOST PRIMITIVE MONOGRAM TO BE FOUND ON DÜRER'S PRINTS.

Good impression, but not of the very earliest, the right cheek of the Virgin already somewhat defective from the wearing of the delicate work. Rather brownish ink, clean wiped.

In the best early impressions, such as that in the Gray Collection, Boston, and one of those in the Berlin Cabinet, the face is still intact, and they are printed

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in pure black ink, quite clean wiped. Such tinting as may appear in these early impressions is entirely accidental. No impressions without the graver slip over the head of the Virgin seem to be known.

Compared with "The Ravisher," this plate shows technical progress, and it is not out of harmony with the plates which follow. In the attractiveness and sweetness of the design, it is, however, quite *sui generis* among Dürer's early work, and it is thus brought into companionship with "The Virgin and Child with the Monkey" (No. 13), although this latter shows great advance in workmanship. Thausing (I, p. 206) supposes it to be a copy from Wolgemut. Retberg assigns it to before 1495; Heller, to the period between 1486 and 1500; Von Eye thinks it must have been done during Dürer's apprenticeship, and under the influence of Schongauer's engravings. In the character of the face of the Virgin it is certainly akin to some of Dürer's early woodcuts, which also seem to betray Schongauer's influence. Thausing says of it (I, p. 205): "The oldest known engravings undoubtedly by Dürer are 'The Holy Family with the Locust' and 'The Offer of Love' [see No. 4 of this catalogue]. Both are signed with his usual monogram, and cannot, therefore, have been engraved before 1496." The shape of the monogram, however, points to a somewhat earlier date. The A as here formed, and the small *d* it encloses, are only found on very early drawings by Dürer,—the "Madonna with Angels," for instance, of the year 1485, the Orpheus," dated 1494, and the Christ Child, copied from Lorenzo di Credi, dated 1495. (See Introduction, p. xiii.) In both these cases, however, the *d* stands alongside of the A. The Venetian gondola gives evidence in favor of Dürer's disputed first journey to Venice about the year 1494. Middleton places this print in 1494-95.

Called also "The Holy Family with the Butterfly" or "with the Locust."

3 FIVE FOOTSOLDIERS AND A MOUNTED TURK.—

B 88; H 981; R 4; M 7.—MONOGRAM, CONSISTING OF A POINTED A, WITH A ROMAN CAPITAL D INSIDE OF IT.

Very fine impression, in black glossy ink, clean wiped, but a trifle too heavy in the darks. Slightly abraded on right (see upper feather in cap of standing man, and the vessel). Watermark, apparently, Hausmann, No. 5.

Work still quite primitive, especially in the scratchy or "feathery" modeling of some of the faces. Fine impressions in Paris, London, and Berlin, all pure black ink, clean wiped.

Assigned to before 1495 by Retberg, to between 1486 and 1500 by Heller, and to about 1498 by Thausing. A comparison of the monogram, the A of which

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is still quite pointed, with the monogram on No. 14, shows that it must be earlier than 1497.

Called also "The Assembly of Warriors," "The Six Warriors," "William Tell," and "The Robbers," the latter on the gratuitous supposition that it represents Dürer (the man seen full face) fallen into the hands of brigands. It is probably only a study of costumes. Notice the Scotch plaid pattern on the saddle-cloth of the Turk.

4 THE OFFER OF LOVE.—B 93; H 891; R 2; M 8.—MON- OGRAM SIMILAR TO THAT ON NO. 3.

a. Very clear impression, with only a slight imperfection in the lower left corner. Pure black ink, clean wiped, with only some accidental smudging in the deepest blacks. From the Balmanno Collection.

b. From the badly worn, corroded, and retouched plate.

Very fine impressions in Paris, London, Dresden, and Berlin, all printed in pure black ink, clean wiped.

The workmanship is free and unconstrained rather than primitive, quite delicate, and very much more careful in the flesh than the preceding plates. The monogram seems a trifle more primitive than that of No. 3, but the workmanship shows a decided advance. Retberg places this plate before the "Holy Family with the Dragon-fly," but the form of the monogram, in which a Roman D has taken the place of the Gothic *d*, argues against this order of succession, even without the evidence to be drawn from the greater skill in execution. Heller assigns it to between 1486 and 1500, and Thausing (I, p. 205), who unhesitatingly accepts it as Dürer's, to a date not earlier than 1496. Middleton advances it to the eighth place in his list, while to "The Penance of St. John Chrysostom," No. 7 of this catalogue, he gives the fourth. This sequence is impossible, however, on technical grounds, as well as on the evidence of the monogram.

Called also "Judah and Tamar" (Genesis xxxviii, v. 16) and "Berthold Tucher and Anna Pfinzing" (in allusion to an old Nuremberg scandal; see Heller, p. 483, or Allihn, pp. 69-70). At present a more general explanation obtains than is hinted at in these titles. "Old age, whether man or woman, purchasing the affection of youth with gold, was a common subject in those days" (Thausing, I, p. 206; Allihn, p. 70). G. von Quandt, according to Nagler, doubted the authenticity of the plate, and it must be acknowledged that there are good reasons for doubting. Compared with the plates which precede it, it is abnor-

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mally skilful and delicate, and there is a superior quality of expression in the frivolous pose and face of the woman and in the face of the old man, of which Dürer was hardly capable. If the plate really should be his, it would, moreover, be the only one among his undoubted works which panders to a vicious taste under the guise of moralizing. Although Dürer was a true child of his period (see his correspondence with Pirkheimer and some of his rhymes), his art is nevertheless singularly free from the obscenity and the grossness which make the work of so many of his contemporaries distasteful. This was recognized even at the time, as shown by the words of Camerarius quoted by Thausing (II, p. 98).

5 THE PRODIGAL SON.—B 28; H 477; R 5; M 6.—MONOGRAM, THE A BEGINNING TO SPREAD SLIGHTLY AT THE TOP, A ROMAN D WITHIN IT.

a. Very fine impression, some of the perpendicular scratches still slightly visible. Pure black ink, clean wiped.

b. Good impression, after the slight perpendicular scratches had worn away almost entirely. Brownish ink, clean wiped. From the Donnadieu Collection.

c. Modern copy.

The earliest impressions, such as the very fine one in the Gray Collection, Boston, and the equally fine ones in the British Museum, London, and the Berlin Cabinet, very perceptibly show quite a number of long perpendicular scratches in the upper part of the plate, and on its left and right sides. They are printed in pure black ink, and are absolutely clean wiped.

The workmanship is about equal to No. 4 in the handling or management of the lines, but shows increased skill in the mastery of the burin.

Assigned by Retberg to before 1495, by Heller to between 1486 and 1500, and characterized also by Thausing as very early work, faulty in the drawing of the figure.

The "Prodigal" himself has been called a likeness of Dürer, which only shows how recklessly such guesses are put forward. The background has always been much admired, and Vasari says of it: "In this engraving there are huts or cabins after the German manner, which are exceedingly beautiful." There is a study for this engraving in the British Museum. (Lippmann, No. 222. Reproduced also by Cust, p. 26.)

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6 ST. JEROME IN PENANCE.—B 61; H 776; R 8; M 5.—

MONOGRAM OF THE FORM WHICH HENCEFORTH BECOMES USUAL, *i. e.*, AN A, SPREADING AT THE TOP, WITH A ROMAN D IN IT.

a. Very fine impression. Rather warm ink, clean wiped. Watermark, a jug similar to Hausmann, No. 10.

b. Good delicate impression. Soft black ink, clean wiped. There is a press scratch diagonally across the mountains in the distance on the right. The paper shows a very curious watermark, resembling in outline Hausmann, No. 44.

c. Late impression. The diagonal scratch across the mountains has disappeared again, together with the greater part of the mountains themselves.

The color of the ink used in printing this plate varies considerably,—from pure black to almost brown. The impressions in pure black ink, clean wiped, such as those in the cabinets at Paris and Berlin, are undoubtedly the earliest. The press scratch noticed under *b* seems to indicate later impressions. It is seen also in the impression in the Gray Collection in Boston, in fact, there are two such scratches in this impression. Undoubtedly it is not advisable to try to make “states” by the aid of press scratches, but where they are persistent (see the “Nemesis” No. 33), they may be utilized in determining earliness or lateness of impression. As noted above, under *c*, in the very latest impressions this scratch has disappeared again.

Workmanship very simple, but skilful and rather delicate.

Retberg places the engraving before 1495; Heller, between 1486 and 1500; Hausmann, in the years immediately following the [second] Venetian journey, which would make it about 1508. The monogram decidedly points to an early date. The lion has a certain typical resemblance to those sketched by Dürer, according to Thausing (I, p. 112), when he was in Venice in 1494. Cust (p. 26) says: “No student of the engravings by Jacopo de’ Barbari can fail to be struck by the similarity between the figure of St. Jerome and some of those in Barbari’s engravings.”

St. Jerome, one of the most learned of the fathers of the Latin church, a prolific writer, and the author of the Vulgate, was born 331 or 342 in Dalmatia of well-to-do parents; converted at Rome about 360; lived four years as an an-

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chorite in the desert; died about 420 at a monastery near Bethlehem, which he had founded with funds furnished by Paula, a wealthy lady of his following. He was one of the favorite saints of Dürer's and later times, and therefore often taken as a subject by artists. The lion accompanies him, because, according to the legend, he drew a thorn from the paw of the animal, which ever afterwards was his companion.

7 THE PENANCE OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.—B 63; H 723; R 7; M 4.—MONOGRAM.

A wonderfully fine impression, pure black ink, slightly glossy, absolutely clean wiped.

The impression here exhibited shows the ideal of the printing of the time,—pure black ink, absolutely clean wiped, the blacks vigorous yet open, the lines full but not too full, nor wiped out; in other words, every line telling at its full value, without any help whatever from smudging or tinting. There is a glorious impression in the Rothschild Collection at Paris, another very beautiful one in the Berlin Cabinet, and a fine one in the Gray Collection, Boston.

Retberg, before 1495; Heller, 1486–1500. Middleton, as previously noted, places it before "The Offer of Love" (see No. 4), which involves an impossibility. The workmanship is, indeed, still very simple, but of a regularity and skill, especially in the modeling of the flesh, which advances it considerably beyond "The Offer of Love." The formation of the monogram also bears evidence in favor of the later position. Thausing (I, p, 228) thinks that we probably have here Dürer's earliest engraved study from the nude female figure. "What difficulties the artist experienced in doing this figure," he says, "can be clearly seen even in the finished engraving. We can note the cutting away of a piece of the rock on which she is sitting; the evident shortening of the figure, as revealed by the existence, above the head, of the original outline, and of the parting of the hair, which has been turned into a hollow in the rock; and we can even make out the old contour of the shoulder and the top of the arm, though the correction is meant to be hidden by the deep shading. These signs of uncertainty in drawing the human form, which appear to be, in some degree, owing to Venetian influences, are worth noticing, because they form rare exceptions to his later method." The idea is simply preposterous. Imagine a sitting figure, with the head placed where, according to Thausing, it was originally engraved by Dürer, and then consider the proportions of the upper and the lower parts of the body. And again, the notion that an artist like Dürer, even in his younger years, should *engrave* such a monstrous figure, and then correct

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it on the plate, instead of making the correction on his preliminary sketch or drawing! Moreover, why should he have left the white line defining the head so glaringly visible? His skill was certainly equal to covering it with lines. The gondola in the distance again points to Venice.

This plate is frequently, but erroneously, called "St. Genevieve." The story of St. John Chrysostom, "the Golden-mouthed," too long and too unsavory to be recounted here, may be found in Heller.

8 THE VIRGIN ON THE CRESCENT, WITHOUT CROWN.—B 30; H 489; R 9; M 18.—MONOGRAM.

a. Very fine impression, in pure black ink, but with considerable "smudging" (see below). Some touches of white on the crescent to counteract the effect of the ink on the face of "the man in the moon." Paper somewhat stained. Duplicate from the Berlin Cabinet.

b. Another impression, not so good, but without "smudging" (see below), and therefore interesting for comparison.

c. Bartsch's "copie trompeuse" A.

The meaning of the term "smudging," as here used, has already been explained (see Introduction, p. xxxix), but it may be well, for the prevention of misunderstandings, to repeat the explanation here. It does not, necessarily, imply a criticism, much less a condemnation, of the impression to which it applies. On the contrary, it may, and generally does, give added interest to the proof in question. "Smudging," *i. e.*, the presence of ink on the surface of the plate where, originally, there was no intention of having ink, was undoubtedly at first an accident, but, as the art of the printer developed, it led to "tinting," which is "smudging" under the control of the printer. An impression like *a* is, therefore, a curious and interesting document in the history of printing, in which Dürer and the printers of his plates play a conspicuous part. The "smudging" in this case is, presumably, accidental, as it occurs not only in the dark parts of the drapery, where it might be intentional, but it obscures also "the man in the moon," which cannot be intentional. For an example of "tinting" see, for instance, No. 95 of this catalogue. The fine impressions in Paris, London, and Berlin are all clean wiped.

This very delicately and skilfully engraved little plate, in its placid beauty, vividly recalls Schongauer, especially his "Little Standing Madonna," B 27, and still more Wenzel von Olmütz's reversed copy of the print named. Schongauer's original and Wenzel's copy can be compared in the reproductions given

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by Lehrs on Pl. V of his "Wenzel von Olmütz." Thausing (I, pp. 225, 226) mentions it as a "small archaic figure," in Wolgemut's manner. An unpleasant feature is the face in the crescent,—the "man in the moon,"—upon which the Virgin stands, a detail abandoned by Dürer in later years. A fine example of far-fetched interpretation is furnished in this instance by Von Eye, who detects a symbolical meaning in the apple held by the child, which he declares to be the fruit "of the new tree of life." If this view be accepted, it will be necessary, also, to find symbolical meanings for the pears and even the sucking-bag which occur similarly in other plates. Dürer evidently looked upon them merely as creature-comforts which, in the innocence and "gross materialism" of his nature, he considered quite appropriate in the hands of a child.

Called also "The Virgin with Long Hair, tied with a Ribbon."

9 THE LITTLE FORTUNE.—B 78; H 831; R 6; M 9.— MONOGRAM.

a. Very vigorous impression. Black ink, clean wiped, except in the floating drapery in front of the figure, which shows "smudging" (see remarks under No. 8). Paper rubbed and spotted, especially about the head.

b. Good impression, in warmer ink, on warmer paper, clean wiped, not quite sound. From the Buccleuch Collection.

Impression *a* is of special interest, as in the series of prints here shown, it is the first undoubtedly conscious attempt at "artificial" printing, although not a successful one. Accidental "smudging" (see the remarks under No. 8) occurs often in old prints, but here it is evidently not an accident. The printer tried to tint the drapery, so as to give it color, but as his ink was not of the right kind, and his skill insufficient, he produced merely a smudge, which here and there extends even beyond the drapery.

Called "The Little Fortune," to distinguish it from "Nemesis" or "The Great Fortune" (see No. 33 of this catalogue). Fortune "stands on a globe, and supports herself with her left hand on a reed, to express her inconstancy and frailty," says Bartsch. To this Heller adds that in the same hand "she holds a dangerous thistle." Retberg sees in the "reed" a pilgrim's staff, the form of which it decidedly has, while Thausing (I, p. 230) finds in it evidence that the figure was drawn from a living model, to whom the staff served as a support. "It seems," he goes on to say, "as if Dürer were here making a slight attempt to see how far he could adapt engraving to his new ideas of nature before he undertook the larger rendering of the same subject," that is to say of

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the "Nemesis" (see No. 33, as above). In accordance with this idea he places the print "a few years earlier" than 1503. Retberg assigns it to before 1495; Heller, to between 1486 and 1500. The figure certainly is very like the "Nemesis" in its motive, simply copied, that is to say, from the nude, and it is therefore quite different from the figures probably inspired by Italian art, such as the woman in "The Turkish Family" (No. 21) and the one about to strike in the "Hercules" (No. 17). It differs also from the figures in "The Dream" (No. 15), and "The Four Naked Women" (No. 14), in which faint traces of the antique may be detected, and from the "Eve" in "Adam and Eve" (No. 34), in which Dürer's theoretical studies find early expression. But the workmanship, very simple although skilful, and the monogram point to an earlier time than that of the "Nemesis." The suggestion that the figure is a portrait of Dürer's wife is not worth discussing.

10 THE LITTLE COURIER.—B 80; H 986; R 13; M 10.— MONOGRAM.

Very fine, clear impression. Pure black ink, clean wiped. Watermark, large bull's head, Hausmann, No. 1.

Again a fine specimen of old clean printing. What there is of tinting along the margins is evidently accidental. Very fine impressions also in Paris, London, Dresden, and Berlin, all printed in pure black ink and clean wiped.

Retberg assigns this plate to before 1495; Heller, 1486–1500; Middleton, "executed early in 1496." According to Von Eye, it "discloses itself at first sight as rudimentary work." The plate is somewhat puzzling. It is quite archaic in conception, and very simple, although skilful, in execution, and yet the monogram shows considerable development. (For "The Great Courier," see No. 103 of this catalogue.)

Called also "The Post-boy," and "Eppelein von Gailingen," who was a celebrated robber-knight of the fourteenth century.

11 THE MONSTROUS FIG.—B 95; H 1019; R 19; M 11.— MONOGRAM.

Very fine, early impression. Pure black ink, clean wiped. The impression is absolutely irreproachable, except that some foolish person has tried to make it look "richer" by strengthening the shadows with India ink. From the Marshall Collection.

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"In the 1496th year," says an old Nuremberg chronicle, "there was born a curious pig in the village of Landsee [near Nuremberg], with one head, 4 ears, 2 bodies, 8 feet, on the 6 it stood, the other 2 were about the body, and had 2 tongues." The description tallies with Dürer's engraving, which is therefore unanimously assigned to about 1496, a conclusion which the workmanship and the monogram do not antagonize. Von Eye gives 1476 as the date of the chronicle item, but this is probably a misprint. Evidently a "pot-boiler," made with an eye to the market only.

Passavant says there are impressions from the retouched plate.

12 THE PROMENADE.—B 94; H 884; R 14; M 21.— MONOGRAM.

a. Very fine, strong impression, black ink, slight tinting. Water mark, a Gothic p, similar to Hausmann, No. 3.

b. Reversed copy by Marcantonio, B XIV, p. 415, No. 652.

c. Reversed copy by Israel van Meckenem.

The very slight tinting in the original here shown is probably accidental. The impressions in the great cabinets of Europe vary considerably. The one in Paris is a fine dark impression, the ink a trifle warmish, clean wiped. London has a good impression, in very black ink, without any tinting or smudging, but overcharged, so that the lines run together where they are broadest and most closely placed. The tree trunk, for instance, shows black masses and spots in the darkest parts. In Dresden there is a good, clean-wiped proof, black ink, a trifle warmish. The Berlin Cabinet possesses a wonderfully fine impression, pure black ink, absolutely clean wiped, but the lines are rather full or, possibly, still "burry." This latter is decidedly the case in some of the sprigs of grass in the left foreground. The impression must, therefore, be a very early one.

Retberg assigns this plate to about 1495; Heller to 1486-1500. It is a difficult plate to place. Its rude, heavy workmanship stands in marked contrast with the daintiness of the plates which precede it,—No. 8 for instance,—and still more with the rich, yet delicate effect of the one which follows in the arrangement here adopted. The character of the design also is puzzling. There is an archaic, somewhat austere, not to say uncouth, character in these two figures which is out of harmony with Dürer's other works. In the faces, on the other hand, there is the expression of a definite state of mind,—earnest pleading in that of the man, doubt and pondering in that of the woman,—hardly to be found elsewhere (see, for instance, No. 4). If, however, the W theory

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is given up (see Introduction, p. xxiii), the plate must be accepted,—and is generally accepted,—as being by Dürer, in conception as well as in execution, and its approximate place in the series is fixed by the shape of the monogram.

Passavant says there are impressions from the worn plate, “rebitten.” If so, they must be exceedingly rare. Very likely the statement will have to be accepted with caution, like so many other statements made by the same writer.

Called also “The Gentleman and the Lady” and “The Knight and the Lady.” Dürer and his wife, either as happy lovers or as victims of conjugal strife (see Retberg, Heller, and Von Eye), have been detected in this print, although the explanation of the subject offers no difficulty. It is akin to the scenes of the “Dance of Death,” so popular at the time,—a youthful couple, for whom death is already prepared. The inscription on Israel van Meckenem's old copy reads, according to Heller: “Ten is niet al tzeyt vast avent. Der doet kompt en brengt den Aevent,” which might be translated: “For is it not always near evening? Death comes and brings evening.”

13 THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH THE MONKEY.—

B 42; H 628; R 88; M 23.—MONOGRAM.

a. Very beautiful impression. Perfect in the printing, strong black ink, clean wiped. On paper of a fine warm tint.

b. Also a very beautiful impression, but not so closely wiped. It is consequently fuller in the darks, and the sky and distance do not hold their places so well. The lighter tint of the paper serves to heighten the contrast. From the Fisher Collection.

c. Late impression from the worn plate.

The two impressions **a** and **b** are both very fine, and both in perfect preservation. They are in reality both clean wiped, but **b** seems to be printed with stiffer ink, and some of the darks are filled. All the fine impressions in Paris, London, Dresden, and Berlin, and the one in the Gray Collection, Boston, are printed in strong black ink, clean wiped. Most of the impressions from this plate, however, show some unsoundness in the upper part.

The late impressions, such as **c**, are mere shadows, but, nevertheless, they are not quite unattractive. The plate wore very evenly, and therefore preserves something of unity, even in its decay, while late impressions from other plates are ragged and hideous. See, for instance, the worn impressions, Nos. 47 **b** and 51 **b**. In the Gray Collection, Boston, there is an instructive series of four

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impressions, illustrating the gradual deterioration of the plate. The latest proofs, like *c*, show a hole at top.

Retberg assigns before 1506 to this plate, Heller, 1500-06, which is altogether too late, as it would place it after the "Adam and Eve" of 1504 (No. 34 of this catalogue). It is of the utmost simplicity in handling, although very delicate and skilful, without any attempt at variation of texture (a very slight variation, in the under sleeve of the Madonna's garment on her left arm, excepted), and therefore without even the faintest suggestion of color. In this respect it is worth comparing with "Adam and Eve" and "The Virgin sitting by a Wall" (Nos. 34 and 75 of this catalogue). Placed as it here is, between "The Promenade" and the "Four Naked Women," it does certainly seem out of place, and it may indeed be said of these three plates that, if they were judged by their workmanship alone, bore no monogram, and nothing whatever were known of their pedigree, it is not very likely that they would be assigned to one and the same artist. The doubts to which this plate and "The Holy Family with the Dragon-fly" (No. 2 of this catalogue) have given rise have before been alluded to (see Introduction, p. xvi).

Among the Virgins of Dürer,—late as well as early,—this is one of the most beautiful and dignified, or it may, perhaps, be quite as safe to say, *the* most beautiful and dignified, not only in the figures of the Virgin and Child, but also in the breadth and airiness of the landscape. Unfortunately the enjoyment of the design is marred somewhat by the fact that the child is teasing a poor little bird, and holds in its left hand a sucking-bag, which is even more objectionable than the usual apple or pear. The monkey has given opportunity to the commentators to display their ingenuity. According to Retberg it symbolizes the devil. Heller thinks it is intended for the child to play with, while Von Eye conjectures that such animals were probably kept in the houses of persons of rank at the time. The opinion expressed by Passavant, that the design suggests Italian influences, is shared also by other writers, but these Italian influences are noticeably modified by German feeling, and it is therefore quite logical in Springer that he should have tried to assign the conception to Jacopo de' Barbari, in whom Italian and German peculiarities so intermingle that his nationality was for a long time in doubt. In its austerity it is allied to the contemporaneous designs of the "Apocalypse," but there is more beauty in it. The loveliness of the background was early recognized, and several Italian engravers availed themselves of it. A water-color study for the landscape distance on the right is in the British Museum. (Lippmann, No. 220.)

14 FOUR NAKED WOMEN.—B 75; H 861; R 21; M 24.—
MONOGRAM; DATED 1497.

a. Beautiful impression, black ink, quite clean wiped, on paper of a warm tint. The impression lacks about one eighth of an inch on the right, and the outline has been cut away all around. A false margin was then supplied and the outline redrawn with ink,—both operations done with marvelous skill. Comparison with *b* will show that the original outline was duplicated along lower left margin, and that it did not touch the little upper ball of the ornament suspended from the ceiling. Watermark, large bull's head, Hausmann, No. 1.

b. Very fine impression. Warmish ink, clean wiped, on paper of a lighter tint. From the Rendorp, Esdaile, and Donnadieu Collections.

c. Copy by Wenzel von Olmütz, from the badly worn plate.

d. Reversed copy by Israel van Meckenem.

The impressions in the cabinets at Paris, London, Dresden, and Berlin, are all fine and all absolutely clean wiped, the one in Berlin somewhat rough, as if the lines still had some bur.

The date, 1497,—the first found on Dürer's engravings,—fixes the position in time of this plate, but its precise relation to other undated plates must remain in doubt. (See the remarks under No. 13.) The modeling of the figures is, indeed, very telling, producing a "fleshiness" that even the Eve of 1504 (see No. 34 of this catalogue) does not share, but the laying of the lines is not nearly as skilful,—or, it might be better to say, "set,"—as in "The Penance of St. John Chrysostom" (No. 7), which is earlier, and between the "Four Naked Women" and "The Virgin and Child with the Monkey" (No. 13), there is a whole world of difference in the execution, not less than in the spirit which these compositions breathe.

As to the meaning of the subject, the diversity of opinion is great and irreconcilable, and finds expression in the various titles applied to it, viz.: "The Four Witches," "Four Naked Women, or Sybils," "The Graces," and "The Judgment of Paris." For the discussion of the questions involved, the student will have to consult not only Thausing, but also Allihn, Bergau, Frimmel, Rosenberg, and Von Eye (see List of Books, etc.). The truth seems to be that Dürer desired simply to utilize his studies of the nude female form, but that, as a con-

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cession to the spirit of the age, he introduced death (in the form of the skull and bone) and the devil, thus giving to the subject the moralizing air which alone could make it palatable to his countrymen. This is also Anton Springer's conclusion ("Dürer," p. 32). In connection with these additions, the composition might be interpreted as hinting at the frailty of female beauty, which fades before death and leads to sin, and in this manner it would be brought, like "The Promenade," into relationship with the idea which inspired the "Dance of Death." It is not at all necessary to assume that the artist did this grudgingly, since he remained thoroughly Northern and German at heart, despite the Italian influences to which he had been subjected. Thode (*Jahrbuch*, III, p. 118, where the Bartsch numbers given are all wrong, however) finds reminiscences of the Venus of the Uffizi (the "Venus de' Medici"; see the photograph, Supplementary Illustrations, No. I) in one of the figures of the group. It is difficult to follow him in this, as the comparison will show. Nevertheless, the "Four Naked Women" evidently points to the influence of the antique received by Dürer, not directly, probably, but through the medium of that mysterious factor in his development, Jacopo de' Barbari. Looking at the "Four Naked Women," one is struck by its relationship to the Italian's "Victory and Fame," B 18, Kristeller 26 (see Supplementary Illustrations, No. IV), not only in the conception of the female figure, but even in the technical qualities as shown in the modeling of the flesh. And Jacopo's "Victory" again impresses one as inspired by a back view of the "Capitoline Venus" (see Supplementary Illustrations, No. III). Jacopo cannot, indeed, have seen this very statue, but there are many repetitions of the same type, one of which may have come under his observation. It will be well to confess that there is always much temptation to trace fanciful resemblances of this sort. Still, the general similarity in the conception, and the special similarity in the arrangement of the hair of the "Capitoline Venus" and of Jacopo's "Victory" (which in Dürer's figure has naturally undergone still further change), seem to lend some coloring to the suggestion made. Absolute copying, as a matter of course, is quite out of the question. In all these cases reminiscences only are involved,—reminiscences kept vivid by a desire to enter into the spirit of antiquity.

If the sequence of the plates here adopted is correct, this is the third attempt of Dürer to treat the naked female figure, a problem which occupied his attention for many years. In the first plate, "The Penance of St. John Chrysostom" (No. 7), the treatment is conventional. The second, "The Little Fortune" (No. 9), is evidently a study from nature. The figures in the present plate are also naturalistically treated, even in the heads. In the plates which follow we have again idealization.

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15 THE DREAM.—B 76; H 854; R 116; M 24.—MONOGRAM.

Very fine impression. Black ink, clean wiped. From the Donnadieu Collection.

The fine impressions in Paris, London, Dresden, and Berlin are all printed in black ink, clean wiped. In London there is also a counterproof.

Heller assigns this plate to 1500-06. Retberg, misled by his Pirkheimer theory (see below), places it about 1507. There is no reason, however, why it should not belong to the same period as the "Four Naked Women," although it is idealistic, or conventional, in the treatment of the female figure, as opposed to the naturalistic treatment in the previous plate, the artist having been influenced, probably, by his theoretical studies. The modeling of the flesh shows greater technical skill than in the "Four Women," but is not as telling.

This is another of the much discussed plates, and those who are interested in the Wolgemut theory will do well to look up Thausing (I, pp. 209 and 210). The titles given to it are "Idleness," "The Doctor's Dream," "The Dream Doctor," and "The Dream of the Podagrist." Heller most prosaically reduces it to the representation of the effect of the heat of a stove, which inflames the imagination of the dreamer. Retberg conjectures that it is a joke at Pirkheimer's expense, in continuation of the somewhat indelicate insinuations in Dürer's letters to him from Venice:—The devil still makes him dream of love, but Cupid tries in vain to walk on stilts, and his luck with the ladies has deserted him, as signified by the ball of Fortune, lying forgotten in a corner. Vasari speaks of it as "representing a man sleeping in a bath-room, while Venus is behind him inspiring his dreams with temptation, and Love, mounted on stilts, capers and sports around him, while the Devil blows into his ear with a pair of bellows." According to Thausing it is "a pictorial satire on senile lust," not addressed to Pirkheimer in particular (who, born in 1470, was not "senile" at the time), but to mankind in general. Dürer's studies of the nude, in connection with the desire to convert them into pictures, and with the moralizing tendencies of the age, are sufficient to furnish the motive, whatever the meaning. Thode (*Jahrbuch*, III, p. 118) sees in the female figure a Venus, and thinks that its forms and proportions are inconceivable without the influence of the antique. It certainly quite closely resembles in pose the "Eve" (see No. 37), in which the influence of the antique has also been traced.

16 THE RAPE OF AMYMONE.—B 71; H 801; R 125;
M 20.—MONOGRAM.

- a.* Very good impression, warmish black ink, absolutely clean wiped.
- b.* Also a good impression, although probably later than *a.* Printed in a softer, warm ink, clean wiped, and therefore quite delicate.
- c.* Reversed copy, by Johannes Ladenspelder van Essen, according to Nagler, "Monogrammisten," III, p. 994, No. 2614.

Fine impressions in London, Paris, and Berlin, in black ink, clean wiped, that in London rather warmish. This last is especially rich, and seems to show traces of the bur left by the graver.

Good impressions from this plate, like *a*, produce something of the suggestion of color, which is due, however, rather to the variety of objects and forms,—landscape, buildings, water, the body of the woman, the scaly merman,—than to a conscious striving after variety of texture for the sake of color, although there is an attempt in that direction noticeable in the different treatment of the bodies of the woman and the merman.

Retberg assigns the plate to about 1509, Heller to 1500–06, Grimm (Jahrbuch II, p. 189) to "the very first years after 1500," with reference to a drawing dated 1503. A comparison of the workmanship with that of "The Coat-of-Arms with the Skull" (No. 30 of this catalogue), which is dated 1503, shows that the "Amymone" must be considerably earlier. It seems hardly to admit of doubt, moreover, that the four plates here numbered 14 to 17 form a closely related group. (See Introduction, p. xvii.)

It is generally conceded that it is this print to which Dürer alludes in the diary of his journey to the Netherlands, as "The Sea Wonder" ("Das Meerwunder"); an old anonymous Nuremberg writer calls it "The Sea Robber"; Vasari describes it as "a nymph borne away by a sea monster, while other nymphs are seen bathing." The title generally accepted to-day is the one above given. "This representation," says Heller, however, "does not quite agree with the history of the Triton carrying off one of the fifty daughters of Danaus; we think rather that it is intended to represent the story of Glaucus carrying off Syme, and the man crying out in the distance is probably Glaucus when he was still a fisherman and about to throw himself into the sea, where he was changed into a Triton, as which he carried off Syme, and brought her to an island not far from Caria." The remedy proposed in this case seems as bad as the disease. The subject is one of those in which

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Dürer shows the influence of the antique, transmitted, possibly, through Mantegna, whose "Battle of the Tritons" he copied in 1494. Thausing (I, p. 215) thinks that the author (Wolgemut, according to him) had in his mind the idea of a Nereid borne by a Triton, as seen on ancient sarcophagi. Anton Springer ("Dürer," p. 30) objects to all of this, and says that if we could see the antique myths with the eyes of the sixteenth century, we would find in this plate the one which Dürer calls "Hercules" in his diary. "It is very difficult, indeed," he continues, "to recognize Hercules in the fat old Turk who is running helplessly hither and thither on the further side of the broad stream, while Dejanaira is comfortably resting in the arms of a water-god on the nearer side. But, after all, this ridiculous transformation of the scene is no greater than that in many pictures of the sixteenth century which represent the Judgment of Paris." This hypothesis would be quite attractive if it were not for the fact that there is no other print of Dürer's which might possibly be called "The Sea Wonder."

17 HERCULES.—B 73; H 815; R 126; M 16.—MONOGRAM.

- a. Unfinished trial proof. Reproduction by photogravure.
- b. Very beautiful impression from the finished plate. Black ink, clean wiped. Watermark, the high crown, Hausmann, No. 4. From the Verstolk Collection.
- c. Modern copy.

Beautiful impressions in London and Berlin. The one in Paris is framed, and cannot, therefore, be satisfactorily seen. In Dresden there are two, a black and a brown one, the lines in the latter sharper and much more delicate than in the former,—in consequence, undoubtedly, of the different consistency of the ink.

The figures in this composition are again conventional rather than realistic, under the influence of Italian art (see below). The workmanship resembles that of the preceding plate, but is more delicate and elegant. The texture is uniform, the effect of variety being due, as before, to the variety of the objects represented,—flesh, drapery, foliage, buildings, etc. The plate is remarkable, however, for the spaciousness of the landscape, and the gradation in the group of trees, which grows lighter towards the top, and suggests different planes by different degrees of gray. On the whole, it is the most pleasing bit of landscape engraved by Dürer.

Unfinished proofs, *i. e.*, trial proofs, are known to exist from two of Dürer's plates,—this and the "Adam and Eve" (No. 34). They show his curious and assured method of proceeding,—not carrying the whole of the plate forward

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by degrees, but finishing one part after another. The only two known trial proofs from the "Hercules" plate are in the Berlin Cabinet (pure black ink, clean wiped) and in the Albertina at Vienna. The reproduction here shown, from the impression in Berlin, was published by the International Chalcographical Society in its series for 1886, No. 11.

Retberg assigns the plate to 1509; Heller to 1500-06; Hausmann after the Venetian journey of 1506. The workmanship, however, delicate as it is, and the monogram point to an earlier date. The plate evidently belongs to the group formed by Nos. 14 to 17.

This is one of the most enigmatical of the prints which go under Dürer's name. It is called also "The Great Satyr" (to distinguish it from "The Little Satyr," or "Satyr's Family," No. 37 of this catalogue), "Jealousy," "The Effects of Jealousy," and "The Great Hercules" (to avoid confusion with "The Great Horse," No. 39, which seems sometimes to have been called "The Little Hercules"). The title "Hercules" is given to it by general consent, because Dürer alludes to one of his plates by that name in his Netherlands diary. That Springer claims this title for the "Rape of Amymone" has already been stated (No. 16). According to him, the composition represents "some love affair of the gods," the details of which we of to-day are unable to define. Vasari describes it as "Diana inflicting punishment on one of her nymphs, who is flying for shelter to the bosom of a Satyr." Some modern commentators explain it as an allegory, in which the figure of the man stands as the personification of *cocuage*,—is, in fact, a cuckold, marked as such by his helmet in the shape of a cock (in allusion to the German *Hahnrei*, a man deceived by an unfaithful wife) and the horns (in allusion to the German saying "to put horns on a man's head," which makes of him a *Hahnrei*). In his debasement he even defends his own wife, in the embrace of the satyr, against Virtue, who is about to chastise her. The scurrility of this explanation is sufficient to defeat it. Allihn, in his attempt to explain Dürer's compositions from the general tendency of his age, connects it with the immorality then prevailing. "Accordingly," he says (p. 75), "the action of the allegory would be as follows: Unchastity, represented by the satyr and the reclining naked woman, ought to be driven away; but she is defended by the evil desires of the man. We have here a curtain-lecture delivered by Dürer to his dissolute contemporaries in the name of their neglected wives." The explanation, though more dignified, is hardly more satisfactory than the one first cited. Dürer probably knew what he was about when he called his engraving "Hercules," and the difficulties it presents are due no doubt to the confusion of ideas and the lack of knowledge regarding ancient myths alluded to in the Introduction (p. iv). For the attempts to reconcile the design with the versions of the story of Hercules, Nessus, and Dejanaira, as known to us, as well as for the evidence that the

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earlier artists of the Renaissance did not clearly distinguish between centaurs and satyrs, see Thausing (I, pp. 222, 223), Sallet (pp. 17-20), and Ephrussi (pp. 29, 30). There is a drawing by Dürer, unhesitatingly accepted as genuine by all writers on the subject, which represents Orpheus attacked by the Bacchantes, and is dated 1494 (see the facsimile, Supplementary Illustrations, No. VI). This drawing is evidently based upon an old Florentine engraving of the so-called Baldini-Botticelli group, representing the same subject, with some differences (see the facsimile published by the International Chalcographical Society, Supplementary Illustrations, No. V). That the Florentine engraver is the originator and Dürer the copyist seems to be the opinion generally held, although the reverse is stated in Meyer's "Lexikon" (II, p. 588). In its turn, the engraving called "Hercules" is again based on Dürer's drawing of 1494, as becomes evident from the figure of the woman about to strike, from the figure of the child, and from the group of trees.

18 THE MAN OF SORROWS STANDING WITH ARMS EXTENDED.—B 20; H 450; R 90; M 26.—MONOGRAM.

Very fine impression. Black ink, clean wiped, on very warm-toned paper. Watermark, large bull's head.

Heller, 1486-1500; Thausing (I, pp. 227, 228): "The exaggerated anatomy, the bad drawing of the head and eyes, and the feebleness in the use of the burin, are so striking that we are tempted to put the work before the year 1497, and to look upon the monogram in the corner as a later insertion." Per contra: Retberg, about 1507; Hausmann, about 1512; Middleton, "latter part of 1497." According to Grimm (Jahrbuch, II, p. 190), it suggests the influence of Signorelli. (See remarks under No. 26.)

19 ST. SEBASTIAN TIED TO A TREE.—B 55; H 787; R 16; M 27.—MONOGRAM ON A PIECE OF PAPER.

a. Very fine impression. Black ink, clean wiped.

b. Not as rich as *a* in general effect, which is partly due to the whitish tint of the paper. Lines duplicated below. From the Ruhl and Peoli Collections.

Retberg, before 1497; Heller, 1486-1500; Hausmann, first period, and similarly Von Eye; Middleton "in the latter part of 1497." Grimm (Jahrbuch, II,

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p. 190) says the figure points to Signorelli. Thausing on the contrary writes (I, pp. 308, 309): "The St. Sebastian . . . was no doubt designed directly from a model, and perhaps in rivalry with a corresponding figure of Barbari's in his excellent group of the 'Captives.' Dürer has not, however, managed to attain that finely felt fidelity to nature which so favorably distinguishes this engraving of the Italian, although he has recourse to such little naturalistic expedients as showing the hair on the legs." (See a reproduction of Barbari's "Captives," Supplementary Illustrations, No. VII.) (See remarks under No. 26.)

20 ST. SEBASTIAN TIED TO A COLUMN.—B 56; H 783; R 17; M 22.—MONOGRAM ON A PIECE OF PAPER.

Good impression, with the corrected mouth. Absolutely clean wiped. Duplicate from the University Library, Cambridge.

Retberg, before 1497; Heller, 1486–1500. Thausing (I, p. 227) places this among the first original plates done by Dürer. The character of the head and the proportions of the figure strongly resemble, as Thausing remarks, the angels in the "Apocalypse," the first edition of which was published in the year 1498. The plate is a puzzle, and it may be that it is not worth while to take any trouble in regard to it. (See the remarks under No. 26.)

Bartsch describes two states of this plate,—before the correction of the mouth and after the correction. There are, however, still other differences, as shown by two impressions in the cabinet at Berlin. In the earlier of these, the little triangular spot in the upper left-hand corner, outside of the arch, is filled with two systems of lines crossing one another. In the second and later impression there is only one set of lines in the place indicated, following the curve of the arch, and the whole plate has been retouched, the faint old lines showing alongside of the heavy new ones, so as to produce somewhat the effect of duplication. The outline is also much heavier, and shows a duplication, by a slip of the graver, at about the middle of the left side. On the right side a bit has been cut off, so that less of the stone is seen than in the early proofs. In the retouched impressions, furthermore, the cross-hatching on the cheek of the saint, to right of the lock of hair which covers the ear, has been carried down to below this lock. There may even be a still earlier state than these two, with the triangular space left white, but this surmise is based for the present on a reproduction only. These remarks are not inspired by a desire to manufacture "states." To the collector such external marks of priority are of value, more especially so long as prints remain an object of trade.

21 THE TURKISH FAMILY.—B 85; H 971; R 12; M 12.

—MONOGRAM.

a. Very fine, brilliant impression. Slightly warmish black ink, clean wiped.

b. Late impression, from the worn plate.

Retberg, before 1495; Heller, 1486–1500; Middleton, “executed early in 1496.” Thausing (I, p. 308) thinks that Dürer, when he engraved this design, must have had in mind two of Jacopo de’ Barbari’s plates, B 10 and 11 (Kris-teller, Nos. 16 and 17), and that he combined them in his own plate. It is impossible to escape the conviction that this is an exceedingly far-fetched hypothesis. The great staring eyes of the figures, according to the same writer, “betray the early origin of the engraving, and the elegant pose of the woman’s legs points to a foreign inspiration.” There is a family resemblance in this Turk to the one in the “Five Footsoldiers,” etc. (No. 3 of this catalogue). The Turks at the time claimed a large share of public attention, owing to their rapid advance as conquerors, and such plates as this were, therefore, likely to be salable.

Called also “The Oriental and his Wife,” “The Turk and his Wife,” and “The Wandering Turkish Family.” (See remarks under No. 26.)

22 THE COOK AND HIS WIFE.—B 84; H 963; R 10; M 13.

—MONOGRAM.

Very fine impression. Pure black ink, clean wiped. A trifle blurred in the head of the man, which seems generally to be the case. From the Balmanno Collection.

Retberg, before 1495; Heller, 1500–06; Middleton, “executed early in 1496.” Hausmann deduces from the workmanship and the simple treatment of the ground that the plate belongs to a later period. The type of the figures, especially of the woman, and the monogram, point to an early time. Thausing (I, p. 225), in accordance with his general theory about many of Dürer’s early plates, opines that it is a copy after Wolgemut. But it is difficult to see why, if Jacopo de’ Barbari’s influence is to be traced in the woman in “The Turkish Family” (No. 21), the same influence should not be seen also in the woman in this engraving.

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Called also "The Hostess and the Cook," "The Cook and the Housekeeper," and "Mohammed and his Wife," the latter, impossible as it may seem, "because," according to Heller, "the dove sits upon the back of the cook, and it is said that a divine dove often alighted upon his [Mohammed's] shoulders, and communicated to him his religious system." Might it be a piece of Düreresque humor, to be interpreted as a caricature of Mohammed, as a man given to worldly lusts, and therefore thinking of nothing but cooking and women, even while he is listening to the pretended divine message? (See remarks under No. 26.)

23 THE PEASANT AND HIS WIFE.—B 83; H 921; R 11; M 14.—MONOGRAM.

Fine impression, black ink, clean wiped. Paper rather dull, which reduces the brilliancy the impression would otherwise have. Cut about one eighth of an inch on right side.

Retberg, before 1495; Heller, 1486–1500; Middleton, "executed early in 1496."

There is much diversity in the attempted interpretation of this print. Bartsch says that "the anger expressed in the peasant's face, and his elevated right hand, show that he menaces the woman who walks meekly by his side." Heller follows him, with the addition that he sees in the companion of the peasant a woman about to become a mother. An idea similar to Bartsch's is expressed in the title "The Drunken Lansquenet," while, by way of contrast, others see in the couple a pair of "Rustic Lovers." Thausing (I, p. 309) adopts the latter title, and declares the print to be a skit upon the conceit of the peasantry, an idea elaborated before him by Allihn (p. 79, etc.), who says that the pair "is about to step up to the dance, and that the man, far from scolding, is on the contrary trying to make himself agreeable." (See also No. 24, and the remarks under No. 26.)

24 THE THREE PEASANTS IN CONVERSATION.—B 86; H 948; R 15; M 15.—MONOGRAM.

a. A brilliant impression, as the phrase goes, but really somewhat too full, although clean wiped. Pure black ink. From the Fisher Collection.

b. An even finer impression than *a*, because not so full. Its brilliancy is, however, again somewhat impaired, like that of No. 23, by the dull-

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ness of the paper. Pure black ink. Duplicate from the Kunsthalle at Hamburg.

Retberg, about 1495; Heller, 1500-06; Middleton, "executed early in 1496." Allihn says the print is dated 1519, which is a mistake.

Like the preceding plate, this is supposed to be a skit upon the conceit of the peasantry. "The same ironical tone is apparent in the three peasants in conversation," says Thausing (I, p. 309), "one of whom holds a basket of eggs, and another has a sack thrown over his shoulders and is leaning upon a somewhat damaged sword; no doubt they are discussing the affairs of the universe." To similar purpose Allihn (p. 90): "They wear spurs, swords, and belted tunics, a costume which is not theirs by right, and which they have borrowed from the wardrobe of the knights. Nevertheless, the peasant crops out everywhere. The scabbards of their swords are defective, and here and there a naked knee peeps through the hose. Of course it is only a bagatelle that is in question, but they discuss it with fervor, as if the weal of the Fatherland depended upon it." The attempts of the oppressed peasants to better their miserable condition were a topic of interest at the time. As early as 1476 risings occurred in South Germany, and these finally culminated in the Peasants' War in 1525. As usual, the just demands of the oppressed were met by scorn and derision, and it is likely enough that Dürer, like other artists, tried to make money out of this sad condition of things. If we regret this side of Dürer's activity, we may, however, temper our regret by the following considerations, advanced by Allihn (p. 88): "In these scenes of peasant life Dürer also is in curious discord with himself. It is true, he joins in the general derision of the peasants, he engraves his plate for those who found pleasure in testing their superior wit at the expense of the peasants, and who would have been as contented, if not more so, with the most scurrilous caricature, but it was impossible for Dürer to demand such a production of his genius. He draws a character-picture of superior comic qualities, but not a libel,—yea, even more than this, he executes his *genre* representation with the same loving care as his most beautiful Madonna." This applies more especially to the "Dancing Peasants" (No. 73 of this catalogue), but the humor is claimed for all of Dürer's similar subjects. To our very modern eyes there is, indeed, little or no humor in these groups. It must not be forgotten, however, that the people of the fifteenth century were differently constituted from ourselves, and were delighted by what to us would be utterly uninteresting, as the child finds amusement where the grown-up man finds only ennui.

Passavant says that the plate still exists, having been bought in the year 1852, in a badly worn condition, by the Prince Dolgorouky. This, however, does not tally with Heller (p. 492, No. 948). (See remarks under No. 26.)

25 ST. ANN AND THE VIRGIN.—B 29; H 483; R 44;
M 28.—MONOGRAM ON A SQUARE TABLET.

Fine impression on deep-toned paper. Black ink, practically clean wiped, with only very little tinting, probably accidental, in the lower part. From the Firmin-Didot Collection.

Retberg, before 1500; Heller, 1486-1500; Middleton, "1498 or early in 1499."

The subject is in doubt. The figure to the right may be the Virgin holding the infant Christ, while St. Ann stands to the left. Bartsch describes the group as St. Ann touching the head of the infant Virgin, held in the arms of a woman with flying hair. According to Retberg, St. Mary is "so wanting in nobility of form and pose that one is tempted to take her for a low-grade servant, and the child in her arms for the infant Virgin." Hausmann, on the contrary, thinks the print "lovely." Thausing (I, p. 309) speaks of the subject as "a simple, homely scene, such as might have been accidentally suggested; indeed, the two women standing in *bourgeois* attire would hardly be recognized for what they are but for the appearance of the Almighty Father in the clouds." As Dürer was evidently engaged at the time in studies from the nude and from life among peasants, etc., it is quite possible that he utilized one of these studies, merely adding the vision in the sky to adapt it for sale as a popular religious image. (See remarks under No. 26.)

26 THE STANDARD-BEARER.—B 87; H 977; R 43; M 30.
—MONOGRAM ON A TABLET.

Very beautiful impression, black ink, absolutely clean wiped.

Retberg, before 1500; Heller, 1500-06; Hausmann, after 1506; Thausing (I, p. 234): "Evidently an early original work of Dürer's, the St. Andrew's Cross of the Golden Fleece on the standard, which belonged to Maximilian I as Duke of Burgundy, pointing without doubt to the war of 1499."

Called also "The Ensign."

A possible, and perhaps not improbable, reason for the fact that these small plates of religious and popular imagery, Nos. 18-26, follow immediately upon the group of larger plates, Nos. 14-17, which deal with the nude and antique myths, has been suggested in the Introduction (p. xviii), but it is more difficult to say whether they really belong together in point of time, at least in so far as the

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first three of the group are concerned. It will have been noticed that opinions as to the place to be assigned to "The Man of Sorrows," No. 18, differ widely, the years named ranging from before 1497 to about 1512. It must be confessed that many good arguments may be brought forward in favor of this latter date. It would bring the plate into close connection with the "Little Passion," with which it conforms in height, although it does not share with this series its pictorial completeness, and in its handling seems to be earlier. Thausing's contention, that there is "feebleness in the use of the burin," cannot be allowed, however. One might rather speak of summary treatment. Similar doubts may be raised in the case of No. 19, "St. Sebastian tied to a Tree." In size and in execution it is identical with No. 18, and yet the opinions expressed in regard to it are unanimous in placing it early. Acknowledging all the doubts, these plates have been placed here in obedience to the majority of previous writers rather than from positive conviction. No. 20, finally, offers quite as many difficulties, but of a different order. That it has hardly any relationship to either No. 19 or No. 21 is evident at first sight. It is conceived in an entirely different spirit, even to the proportions of the body, which may be called disproportioned, especially as to size of head. Where is it to be placed then? General considerations, based on the conception and the workmanship, would tempt one to place it close to No. 7, "The Penance of St. John Chrysostom," but the monogram forbids that. To be sure, after the general character of this "trademark" of Dürer's has once been settled, too much reliance must not be placed on the fact whether the A is more or less spreading on top; nevertheless, the monogram on this "St. Sebastian," as well as its position on a sheet of paper, would be quite out of keeping on the very earliest of Dürer's plates. Considering, moreover, its resemblance to some of the figures in the "Apocalypse," it seemed best, — for want of a better place! — to assign it to one of the very last years of the fifteenth century. It may be, however, that there is a much easier way of disposing of this plate, — by rejecting it altogether. The incongruities it offers, in the design, in the workmanship, in the character of the monogram (which finds a counterpart only in No. 36 of this catalogue), are sufficient to arouse suspicions which it would be difficult to reconcile before a legal tribunal. The bad drawing of the mouth in the first state, its correction in the second, the changes made in the upper left corner, — all these are quite foreign to Dürer, and might be made to tell as evidences of forgery. Certainly Dürer's *œuvre* would lose nothing if the plate were thrown out. As regards Nos. 21–26, we are fortunately no longer beset by such an array of doubts. They evidently belong together, and in the sequence in which they are here arranged they show a steady development of the same method, — the somewhat set regularity of line, heretofore noticeable only in No. 7, but which becomes more and more evident in Dürer's work as the years pass on.

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The impressions from all these plates in the public collections of Paris, London, Dresden, and Berlin are printed in the old style,—that is to say, in pure black ink, clean wiped,—such tinting as there is being evidently accidental.

27 THE LADY AND THE LANSQUENET.—B 82; H 991; R 20; M 19.—MONOGRAM.

a. Very fine dark impression, pure black ink, quite clean wiped. Paper somewhat soiled and mended. Cut above and below.

b. Beautiful silvery impression, very delicate. Clean wiped, except slight tinting in the saddlecloth and on ground to left. Watermark, high crown, Hausmann, No. 21.

c. Late impression, from the worn plate.

d. Copy by Jerome Wierix; Alvin, No. 1577. Second state, marked “Æ 12,” indicating that it was done when the engraver was twelve years old.

The two impressions *a* and *b* are very interesting, as showing differences due to printing. The plate was evidently still in the very best condition when both these impressions were taken, but for *b* a softer ink was used, which, in conjunction with very careful clean-wiping and real “tinting,” produced the delicacy. Impression *b* must, therefore, be later than *a*; and it points to the general conclusion that, contrary to the hitherto received opinion, the silvery impressions are later than the dark ones. The proofs in Paris, London, and Dresden are all clean wiped, while the one in Berlin shows tinting in the saddlecloth, like *b*.

This plate belongs to the same group with Nos. 21–26, but the elaborate landscape background makes it more complete pictorially, and gives it the appearance of greater variety and richness, despite the uniformity in its delicate graver work, which it shares with its predecessors.

Called also “The Lady on Horseback.” The subject might simply be classed with the studies from life before alluded to, but the attempt has been made to invest it with a deeper interest. Heller thinks “the pair is on its way to a tournament.” According to Allihn (pp. 71, 72) “the subject in itself is perfectly clear; it is the old story, treated hundreds of times, of the lady in love with her squire.” He admits that Dürer probably desired merely to draw a young man-at-arms and a lady on horseback, in the picturesque costume of the time, but argues that the moralizing tendency of his age compelled him to give a meaning

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to the subject. He therefore made it a protest "against the vices of the nobility, a tendency which must have secured to him the applause of the *bourgeois* circles for which he worked."

28 JUSTICE.—B 79; H 826; R 51; M 17.—MONOGRAM.

a. Very fine impression, black ink, clean wiped, on whitish paper.

b. Very rich impression, not quite as transparent as *a.* The fine warm color of the paper helps the effect of richness. The ink left standing on the plate is not "tinting," properly so called. The "tint" is spotty, and here and there produces a sort of fringe, extending outside of the darks. From the St. Aubyn, Maberley, and Fisher Collections.

The impressions in Paris, London, Dresden, and Berlin are all printed in fine black ink, clean wiped, only the one in Dresden showing a very little tinting.

Judging by workmanship, monogram, and size of plate, this print stands in close relation to those immediately preceding, although it is more elaborate in execution. Retberg and Thausing, before 1505; Heller, 1500-06; Hausmann, after 1506; Middleton, 1496. The date last named is certainly too early. It would place the plate before the "Four Naked Women" (No. 14), dated 1497.

Often called "Nemesis," but Dürer himself evidently applied this name to the large print, No. 33 of this catalogue. According to Thausing (I, p. 310) we have here the Judge of the World, "put together at random from a variety of apocalyptic reminiscences." The sentiment of the "Apocalypse" designs is certainly very strongly felt in it. A preliminary drawing is reproduced by Lippmann, No. 203.

29 THE VIRGIN NURSING THE CHILD.—B 34; H 564; R 52; M 36.—MONOGRAM. THE SECOND STATE HAS THE DATE, 1503, ON A TABLET.

a. Very fine impression, rich black ink, clean wiped, except some tinting in the lower part. Soiled, torn, and mended, with false margin, and retouched with India ink all around. With the date. From the Balmanno Collection.

b. Copy by Jan Wierix; Alvin, No. 624, second state.

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The impressions in Paris, London, and Dresden (Cabinet), and one of those in Berlin, are all printed in fine black ink, generally speaking clean wiped, yet with more or less tinting in the close work. In the Collection Frederic Augustus II, also in Dresden, there is an impression in warmish ink, very clean wiped, and therefore delicate. The face, however, is defective, which may be due to the wearing of the plate, or to the wiping of the ink out of the finest and shallowest lines. Of the three impressions in Berlin,—one in the first state, two in the second,—the two latter, although printed in black ink, are likewise defective in the face.

In the first state, the tablet with the date and the tree on which it hangs are wanting. It has been conjectured that these evidences of the second state were artificially removed from the impression in the Berlin Cabinet, but careful examination fails to disclose evidences of scratching.

The date on this plate,—1503,—is the second earliest to be found on Dürer's engravings, the earliest being 1497, on the "Four Naked Women" (No. 14). It is an unsatisfactory and a puzzling plate, to which it is difficult to assign a place, in spite of its date. In closeness of work, and in pictorial effect, except for the sky, which is simply white paper, it strikes one as a forerunner of the "Little Passion" (Nos. 46-61). But it is not as satisfactory artistically, and is more archaic in feeling. The line work in the face is so mechanical that doubts arise in the mind as to its authenticity. The most satisfactory way to dispose of it would be to reject it as a forgery, together with the "St. Sebastian tied to a Column" (No. 20), but it would require courage to do that! Vasari mentions it (Mrs. Foster's translation, III, p. 487): "In the year 1503, Albert Dürer sent forth to the world a small figure of the Madonna, in which he surpassed both Martin and himself," and there are copies by Zoan Andrea, Jan Wierix, Ouerrat (Cologne, sixteenth century), and others. But the forgers were early at work, and the fact that Dürer "surpassed" himself, that is to say, that the plate is more "set" in workmanship than any of his other plates, as well as the two "states," and the difficulty of reconciling the workmanship with the other plates of the same period, are all against it. The place apart which it holds is expressed even in Mr. Cust's high praise (p. 36): "The Virgin and Child [of 1503] is one of the sweetest and tenderest renderings of the subject which Dürer produced, and also *one of his best engravings*."

30 THE COAT-OF-ARMS WITH THE SKULL.—B 101; H 1022; R 53; M 34.—MONOGRAM ON A TABLET, DATED 1503.

a. Very fine impression, black ink, a trifle too full in the darks, on almost white paper. From the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch.

b. Impression very similar to *a*, perhaps a trifle less full, and on warmer paper, and therefore softer in effect. From the Fisher Collection.

c. Again very similar to the preceding impressions, but on paper somewhat darker in tone.

The three very similar impressions exhibited are specially interesting, as showing the difference in effect produced by slight variations in the tone of the paper. There is no tinting in either of the three, but proofs with tinting in the ground and in the close work on the left side are frequently met with. The fine impressions in Paris, London, and Berlin (this latter rather too full, so that the closest work in the helmet and its crest is filled) all have tinting in the lower left corner. In Dresden, on the contrary, there is an absolutely clean-wiped impression, but not quite sound in parts. Of the two impressions in the Gray Collection, Boston, the best also shows some tinting in lower left corner. It is necessary that the proofs from this plate should not be too full in the helmet, as the "brilliancy" gained causes a loss in the metallic effect.

The handling is of Dürer's firmest, akin to that displayed in the "Little Passion." It is quite simple, however, and the varied effect produced is again due, as pointed out in several earlier plates, to variety of forms and objects, rather than to variety of texture.

Called also "The Coat-of-Arms of Death" and "The Dying Bride." A much discussed print, which, however difficult it may be to-day to follow the wandering fancy of the artist, it would seem safe to connect in a general way with the idea of "The Dance of Death," although the "wild man" is evidently not a personification of Death, but a satyr, as his right leg, visible to the left, clearly shows. Frimmel, however, objects to this explanation, but without being able to suggest anything better. Middleton says of this print and its mate, No. 31, that they are "probably symbolical, the one (*i. e.* No. 31) of the anticipated success, the other (*i. e.* No. 30) of the failure of the campaign into Switzerland." This suggestion is not, however, likely to be generally accepted. The Swiss war took place in the year 1499, and "The Coat-of-Arms with the Cock" would therefore have to be placed in that year, or earlier.

31 THE COAT-OF-ARMS WITH THE COCK.—B 100;
H 1020; R 198; M 33.—MONOGRAM.

a. Very fine, brilliant impression, black ink. A trifle full in the closest work. From the Brentano-Birckenstock Collection.

b. Very fine impression. Warmish ink, more open than *a.* Watermark, very curious and complicated, similar in outline to Hausmann, No. 44. From the Wilson Collection.

The choice among impressions differing as do those here shown must necessarily be a question of taste. Most assuredly *b* shows the work better, and is more harmonious than *a*, but the warmer ink deprives it somewhat of "strength" and "brilliancy,"—if these should be the qualities sought. It is more than likely, also, that the black impressions are the earlier ones. The fine impressions in Paris and London are printed in black ink, not quite clean wiped. There is also a very fine, wonderfully clean-wiped impression, showing every line clearly and distinctly, in the Kunsthalle at Bremen, but unfortunately the paper has turned quite yellow and is spotted.

"The Coat-of-Arms with the Cock" has always been admired as one of Dürer's most delicate pieces of engraving. Retberg assigns it to about 1512; Heller, 1507-14. According to Thausing it "belongs probably to the same time with B 101," *i. e.* "The Coat-of-Arms with the Skull," which is dated 1503. Middleton's theory (see No. 31) would throw it back to 1499 at the latest. It is quite likely that it is even later than 1503. In its delicacy, it would harmonize well with the "Apollo and Diana," No. 36, or the two "St. George," Nos. 42 and 43, one of which bears the date 1505, altered to 1508. However that may be, it certainly belongs to the early part of the sixteenth century, and it has therefore been left in the company of its mate, with which it has been so long associated.

Dürer drew many coats-of-arms for bookplates, etc., but this one seems to be purely a creation of fancy. Heller suggests that it may be intended "symbolically for the family of Fidelity and Watchfulness, which, however, seems evidently to have died out." For Middleton's historical hypothesis, see No. 30.

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32 ST. EUSTACE.—B 57; H 727; R 127; M 29.—MONOGRAM
ON A SQUARE PIECE OF PAPER.

a. Delicate impression, with the darks all open, but a trifle unsound in parts, and some tinting of the accidental kind in the lower corners. Very curiously complicated watermark, differing from all those figured by Hausmann.

b. Brilliant impression, the closely worked parts fairly open, otherwise clean wiped. Watermark, high crown, Hausmann, No. 4.

c. Very similar in quality to *b*, but some of the darkest shadows filled.

d. Very fine, but dark impression, even in the distance. Watermark, high crown, Hausmann, No. 4.

e. Modern copy.

The four impressions exhibited are all good, and they have been placed in the order chosen, simply to show the gradation in the general effect. Impression *a*, — which may possibly be later than the others,—is the most delicate, and the progression is toward darkness, or, as some collectors would be inclined to say, toward “brilliancy.” Again, as in the case of No. 31, that is a matter of taste. Evidently, however, so far as the distance is concerned, delicacy is preferable to brilliancy. In *a* the distance holds its place fairly well; in *c* it is as prominent as the foreground. As to the printing, there is no conscious tinting in any of these impressions. The ink left standing, for instance, toward both the lower corners in *a*, is there by accident. In principle, the impression is clean wiped, even in the closest parts. The other impressions are fuller and some of the darks are filled, but there is no tinting. All four impressions are printed with black ink. London has a brilliant black impression, but very much smudged in parts. In Dresden there is a fine clean-wiped impression, also in pure black ink. The two impressions in Berlin differ. One is in a cold black ink, clean wiped, and therefore open throughout, the other is in a warmer black, with much tinting in the close work, especially in the landscape distance, including the rock on which the castle stands. The contrasts are subdued therefore, and the background acts more as a mass, while the warmer color gives a more agreeable tone than the cold black of the impression first described.

Retberg, about 1509; Heller, 1507-14; Thausing: “The completion of the engraving cannot be placed much earlier than the year 1504, although it was certainly finished before the ‘Nemesis.’” Middleton stands alone in assigning it

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"to the latter part of the year 1498, or early in 1499." The delicacy of the execution, and the evident prominence given to the horse, would seem to bear out Thausing's suggestion, or to point even to a somewhat later period. About this time Dürer was specially interested in the horse. There are horses in this plate, in the "Little Horse" (No. 38), the "Great Horse" (No. 39), both of these dated 1505, and the "St. George on Horseback" (No. 42), in which Dürer changed the date from 1505 to 1508. Cust (p. 50) places it "soon after his [Dürer's] return from Italy," which would date it about 1507 to 1508, because he finds a resemblance to one of Dürer's drawings marked "Ein Welsch Schloss." This proves nothing, however, unless the first journey to Italy should be rejected. Of the horses in the plates named that of St. Eustace is the most wooden of all, and the "Little Horse" is not much better, while the two later ones are noble beasts and much better posed.

Called also "St. Hubert." This is a mistake, however, as Dürer himself, in the Netherlands Diary, repeatedly speaks of the engraving as "St. Eustace." The legend of the saint is as follows: Eustace, or Placidus by his heathen name, was a valorous general under the Emperor Trajan, and a passionate hunter. While out hunting once, Christ crucified appeared to him between the antlers of a stag and spoke to him, whereupon he and his whole family were converted. A similar story is told of St. Hubert, hence the confusion. This being the largest plate by Dürer, and most minutely finished, the older writers praise it extravagantly, the only criticism ventured upon being that the background might be lighter. Later opinions do not quite agree with this high estimate, and Thausing is correct in saying (I, p. 300) that "invention and arrangement are far surpassed by minute delicacy of technic and by careful execution of each separate detail." The horse especially has been severely criticized.

33 NEMESIS.—B 77; H 839; R 124; M 32.—MONOGRAM ON A TABLET.

a. Very beautiful, brilliant impression. Black ink, generally speaking clean wiped, filled up only here and there in the very darkest, most closely worked parts. The perpendicular scratch under the bridge still fresh, and therefore showing bur. Watermark, high crown, Hausmann, No. 4. From the St. John Dent and the Holford Collections.

b. Good early impression, also with the fresh scratch, and on the same paper as *a.* Too much ink has, however, been left standing in the lower

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part, so that the closely worked parts, especially in the flying drapery and on the back of the figure, are filled.

These two impressions are very instructive as showing what the printer can do with a plate. The old clean-wipe method is exemplified by *a*, while *b* is an early attempt at tinting, but not, as yet, quite successful. A trifle cleaner wiping would have made *b* one of the most beautiful impressions in existence. As it is, it illustrates the transition period of printing as practised by Dürer and his printers,—the development of “smudging,” at first accidental, into “tinting,” completely under the control of the printer. The period is approaching when this tinting is steadily and successfully applied. In London there is an impression, with the scratch, in very black ink, somewhat similar to *b*,—brilliant, but rather muddy. Not only is there much ink left standing in the fine work on the back of the figure, but there is tinting also in the broad lights on the breast and the right upper arm, as well as below the knee on the right leg of the figure, on the flying drapery, and in the right lower corner. The impression in Paris is framed. Dresden has a very fine impression, with the scratch, black ink, clean wiped. Berlin is the fortunate possessor of two impressions, one before the scratch, one with it. The first is very delicate, printed in an ink which may hardly be called warm and is yet far from being cold, quite clean and close wiped, so that even the closest, most delicate lines in the rocks, including the cross-hatchings on the left, are seen quite clearly. It may be noted that the perpendicular press scratches through the floating drapery at the back of the figure, which are seen in some impressions, are present also in this “first state.” The second impression is also very good, but much fuller and therefore not as delicate as the first one. Although practically clean wiped, the close parts are not as clear, owing to the fullness of the lines. This shows not only in the rocks, but also in the wings, the drapery, and the figure itself. As the paper is tolerably white, the contrasts are rather unpleasantly strong. Nevertheless, the impression is a very fine one of its kind. The ink used for both impressions seems to be about the same.

The impressions from this plate, without and with the perpendicular scratch under the bridge, have been dignified by being called “first” and “second state.” The scratch is, however, nothing but an accident, which must have happened after only a very few proofs had been taken, for the proofs without it are of the rarest of the rare. Of the great public collections it would seem that only the Berlin Cabinet, and, according to Passavant, the Staedel Institute in Frankfort-on-the-Main, have these very early impressions. The curious in such matters will note the dotted lines in and above the clouds on both sides. They show how independently Dürer worked. Having transferred the design to the plate in faint lines and dots (see the facsimiles of unfinished trial proofs

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under Nos. 17 and 34), he, nevertheless, did not quite strictly adhere to them, but made such changes as suggested themselves to him during the progress of the work. He might, of course, have removed these dots with very little trouble, but, with the carelessness of the artist, he did not think it worth his while to bother about them.

Heller suggests 1507-14; Retberg, 1509; Thausing, about 1504; Middleton, relying on the Swiss war theory, 1499-1503. About 1504 is probably the safest estimate. The execution tallies with the delicacy and care bestowed on all of the plates of this period. The remarkable difference between the uncompromising realism of this figure and that of the idealistic Eve immediately following (No. 34) does not stand in the way. Dürer vacillated between nature and theory. A very similar example is furnished by No. 14, the naturalistic "Four Naked Women," followed by the idealized figures in Nos. 15-17, presuming, of course, that the sequence here adopted is correct.

There is a pen-and-ink sketch of the "Nemesis" in the British Museum, which Springer (p. 165) and Ephrussi (p. 33) accept. Lippman, however, does not reproduce it.

This print is generally called "The Great Fortune," to distinguish it from "The Little Fortune" (No. 9 of this catalogue), but there is no doubt that Dürer himself called it "Nemesis." The strangeness of the conception, and the incongruity of the various elements of the design,—the extreme realism of the repulsively ugly body, the wings, the globe, etc.,—have given rise to a number of most ridiculous attempts at explanation, connecting the figure itself with Dürer's wife, the cup with his father, who was a goldsmith, the bridle with his uncle, who was a saddler, and the landscape with his father's birth-place, Eytas in Hungary, all of which must be dismissed with a mere allusion, together with Thausing's more attractive hypothesis (I, p. 230 etc.) concerning Pirkheimer and the Swiss war of 1499. The great stumbling-block has been the impossibility of reconciling the attributes with the received conceptions of either the Roman "Fortuna" or the Greek "Nemesis," and the apparent unwillingness to accept the fact that Dürer, as well as his humanistic friends, was himself not clear in his conception, and therefore mixed up several antique ideas, thus producing a Fortuna-Nemesis, which he still further complicated with conceits of his own (see Introduction, p. iv). The best explanation of the title chosen by Dürer is undoubtedly given by Rosenberg (*Zeitschrift*, IX, pp. 254, 255). He calls attention to a passage in the "Praise of Folly," by Erasmus, which runs thus: "Even Rhamnusia herself, who guides the fate of human affairs, is so strong an adherent of mine [*i. e.*, of Folly] that she has always been inimical to the so-called wise men, while she has given to the fools all the advantages, even in their sleep." This passage Holbein illustrated by the figure of a naked woman showering gold upon a fool, while standing on a

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globe which floats upon the water. "From the words of Erasmus," says Rosenberg, "it follows that Rhamnusia, *i. e.*, Nemesis, so called from her principal place of worship in Attica, was identical with Fortuna as the goddess of fate in its broadest meaning." The "Praise of Folly" and Holbein's figure, drawn in 1515, are, of course, later than Dürer's "Nemesis," but they show that the combination of ideas involved was not foreign to Dürer's time. Rosenberg further cites an epigram from the Greek "Anthology," as explaining the attributes, at least in part, and calls attention to Dante's verses, "Inferno," VII, 73-96, which do, indeed, express the same idea as that conveyed by Dürer's design, but in a manner which the rude conception of the Northern artist cannot hope to rival.

Mr. Ruskin's bitter allusion to the landscape under this "Nemesis" (see the Appendix to his "Ariadne Florentina"), and his extraordinary comparison of Dürer and Turner, compel a few words of comment here. The great English theorist forgets or ignores the slight circumstance that Dürer lived and worked in the sixteenth century,—did this landscape, in fact, at the very beginning of that century,—and that landscape painting had not yet been invented, so to speak, at the time, while Turner lived in the nineteenth century. Dürer may, indeed, be ranked among the pioneers of landscape art, and it is curious that, in the Netherlands, he cultivated more especially the friendship of Patenier (see No. 108 of this catalogue), who is called the father of landscape art in the Netherlands, and whom he describes as a "good landscape painter," thus being the first, according to Thausing, to introduce this term into literature. To understand how far in advance Dürer was in his landscape drawing, compared with the old Florentines who are Mr. Ruskin's idols (and against whose merits not a word is to be said), one need only compare his rendering of the "Orpheus" with the original, as shown in this exhibition (see Supplementary Illustrations, Nos. V and VI, and No. 17).

The study of his many landscape sketches, which, thanks to the admirable reproductions made at the German Government Printing Office, Berlin, under Professor Röse's skilful direction, and edited by Dr. Lippmann, are now easily accessible, shows him, indeed, to have been far in advance of all his contemporaries, and even in advance of himself as we know him in his finished productions. Dürer working for himself, and Dürer working for the public, are two entirely different beings. His landscape sketches in water-colors verge closely upon the "impressionism" of to-day. But when he utilized these sketches for popular purposes, he changed them and conventionalized them almost out of recognition. Nevertheless, even in this conventionalization, his landscape backgrounds were the admiration of all the artists of his time, Italians included, who did not hesitate to appropriate them and to introduce them into their own productions.

34 ADAM AND EVE.—B 1; H 116; R 55; M 38.—FULL
NAME, MONOGRAM, AND DATE, 1504, ON A TABLET.

a. Photogravure reproduction of an unfinished trial proof. The background is finished, with the exception of a part on the right side. The figures are only outlined, with the exception of the right leg of Adam, which is finished. The cat is not yet indicated in the foreground.

b. As before, but carried further, both of the legs of Adam being now finished.

c. Impression from the finished plate, first state. Very fine, rather delicate impression, generally speaking clean wiped, even most of the darkest parts still transparent, black ink. Watermark, large bull's head, Hausmann, No. 1. From the Von Liphart Collection.

d. Another very fine impression of the first state, but fuller, and therefore what collectors are apt to call "richer." Watermark, large bull's head, Hausmann, No. 1. From the Artaria Collection.

e. Second state of the finished plate, with the rift in the tree under the left armpit of Adam. Very good, clear, delicate impression. Watermark, large bull's head, Hausmann, No. 1. From the Harrach Collection.

f. Copy, usually ascribed, on the authority of Heller, to an otherwise entirely unknown engraver, Johannes van Goosen. Merlo ("Nachrichten," p. 146) says, however, that Heller's ascription is entirely unwarranted. There was an engraver named Johann Baptist Goossens, who lived in Cologne in the seventeenth century, and made some copies after Dürer, but this copy of "Adam and Eve" is not by him. Nagler ascribes it to Johannes Ladenspelder van Essen ("Monogrammisten," IV, p. 57, No. 163).

g. Copy, undescribed.

There is no real tinting in these impressions of Dürer's early masterpiece,—he was thirty-three years of age in 1504,—nor do the impressions in the public collections examined show any. Of the first states in these collections the finest is in Berlin, printed in very black ink, clean wiped, and an even finer impression

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of the same state, in the collection of Mr. Valentin Weisbach, also of Berlin, shows the same printing.

Trial proofs are known of only two of Dürer's plates, the "Hercules" (No. 17 of this catalogue), and the plate under consideration. The two reproductions here shown (published by the International Chalcographical Society, in its series for the year 1890, Nos. 17 and 18) were made from the impressions in the Albertina, at Vienna. There is also an impression of the first of these states in London. Middleton describes still another trial proof, earlier even than the two just mentioned,—the figures of Adam and Eve only in outline, the whole of the right side of the print and the cat in the foreground unshaded,—but he does not name the collection where it is to be found. The plate of "Adam and Eve" is, besides, one of the very few of Dürer's of which two states, properly so called, can be said to exist. The rift in the tree, under the left armpit of Adam, which is the distinguishing mark of the second state, had an obvious artistic purpose,—Dürer wished to darken the part in question, so as to give more effectual relief to Adam's arm.

The date fixes the position of "Adam and Eve," and its delicacy harmonizes well with the group of plates which surround it, and at the head of which it stands, technically, as well as artistically, considered. Nowhere else has Dürer treated the flesh with such caressing care, using much fine dotting in the modeling, and in no previous plate has he used such a variety of textures in a conscious striving for color. It is very instructive in this respect, as before pointed out, to compare the "Adam and Eve" with "The Virgin and Child with the Monkey" (No. 13), which, despite the variety of objects, is pure black and white, as a result of the uniformity of texture, and with "The Virgin sitting by a Wall" (No. 75), in which variety of texture is carried further than in any other of Dürer's plates.

It was this engraving of "Adam and Eve," according to Thausing (I, pp. 304, 305), "which first brought Dürer before the world in the full consciousness of his power, as undisputedly the greatest master of the burin" [of his time]. The elaborate detail studies which he made for it (see Ephrussi, pp. 70-73, and the many reproductions published by Lippmann) give evidence of special care in its preparation, and the trial proofs still in existence show that he was equally painstaking in its execution. Such detail studies for engravings are exceptional with him, although of composition sketches for his engravings and woodcuts there are many (Ephrussi, p. 195). It is manifest also that he was satisfied with the result of his labors at the time, from the detailed inscription on the tablet: ALBERTUS DVRER NORICVS FACIEBAT, followed by the monogram and the date. That the subject is "Adam and Eve" admits of no doubt, even if we cannot accept the elaborate explanations, such as Retberg's, which assign a symbolical meaning to every detail. On the other

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hand, it is equally certain that the Biblical story served the artist only as a pretext for representing the nude, both male and female, according to the best lights he then had. In earlier plates (Nos. 19, 21, 22 of this catalogue) the influence of Jacopo de' Barbari, of the early Florentines (No. 17), and of Andrea Mantegna (Nos. 16, 17) has been detected; in others (Nos. 14, 15) a reflection of the antique may perhaps be seen; while in a third class (Nos. 9, 33) we evidently have the result of the direct and unreserved study of nature. In the "Adam and Eve," finally, the young artist, who has thus far carried on his studies on various lines, sometimes contradictory of one another, sums up his experience, and for the first time makes extended use of the theoretical studies of proportions which he pursued throughout his life. That this is the case is conclusively shown by the constructional lines and figures on some of the preliminary drawings. At the same time, the earlier studies are still visible in the final result. It is claimed by Thode ("Die Antiken," etc., p. 2) that "Dürer's Adam is nothing but a transformation of the Apollo Belvedere" (see Supplementary Illustrations, II), and that "the same conceptions and studies which transformed the Apollo into an Adam changed the Venus to an Eve" (Jahrbuch, III, p. 112). Thode's suggestions concerning the Venus in "The Dream" (No. 15) have already been pointed out, and there is no denying that there is much resemblance in the composition generally of this latter figure and the Eve, however the forms may differ in detail. That Dürer should make use of antique models for the representation of Biblical subjects is quite in accordance with his expressed conviction of the correctness of such a proceeding. It is an interesting question, however, to inquire whether he went to the antique direct or whether its influence was transmitted to him through Jacopo de' Barbari or some other Italian. There is an engraving of "Apollo and Diana" by Jacopo, B 16, Kristeller 14 (see Supplementary Illustrations, No. VIII), in which the figure of the sun-god seems also to have been influenced by the Apollo Belvedere, and in an early drawing by Dürer of the same subject (see Supplementary Illustrations, No. IX), there is a curious mixture of the two with a premonition of the Adam. Indeed the Apollo of the drawing, which, as a whole, is evidently related to Jacopo's engraving, is almost identical with the Adam, reversed. Ephrussi (in his essay on Jacopo de' Barbari) endeavors to prove also that the Eve is based on a relief representing "Orpheus and Eurydice" (see the etching from it, Supplementary Illustrations, No. X), which he attributes to Jacopo on the strength of the sign in the upper right-hand corner. This sign, however, does not appear to be the caduceus, adopted by Jacopo as a mark, but rather a dagger or something of that sort, stuck through two rings. To offset the chorus of admiration universally called forth by this engraving, it may be well to recall the words of Albert Von Zahn ("Dürer's Kunstlehre," pp. 44, 45). "The newness," says he, "of the conscious application for the first

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time of a set of rules [of proportion] explains why these figures have a most forced pose which is thoroughly contradictory of the essence of Dürer's conception of nature, and the disagreeable impression of which is balanced only by the mastery of the drawing." The curious may look up also Mr. Ruskin's judgment in Lecture V of his "*Ariadne Florentina*." There is no direct evidence to show whether Dürer was as dissatisfied after a few years with this crowning triumph of his earlier activity as an engraver as he usually was with his works. He carried impressions to the Netherlands with him, but mentions the plate by title only four times, once among the gifts and thrice among the sales. His price for it was, as for all his "full sheet" prints, eight for one florin, or four stivers for a single copy. As regards the supposed influence of the Apollo Belvedere on Dürer's work, it is worthy of remark that this statue was discovered toward the end of the fifteenth century,—when Dürer visited Italy for the first time,—and undoubtedly created quite an excitement among those interested in such matters.

Lehrs, in a study published by him in the "*Mittheilungen des Instituts für öster. Geschichtsforschung*," gives a number of representations, here reproduced (see p. 41), illustrating the genesis of Dürer's Adam, and the influence of the Apollo Belvedere on several other artists. Figure 1 is an outline of the Apollo, Figure 2 a reduction of the Apollo on Dürer's drawing above alluded to, Figure 3 the Adam reversed, as he appears in a drawing by Dürer, in the Von Lanna Collection, at Prague (Lippmann, No. 173. See Supplementary Illustrations, No. XI). The relationship is obvious. Figure 4 is from Mantegna's "*Bacchanal with the Tub*," again a reminiscence of the Apollo Belvedere, while Figures 5 and 6 are from drawings by Dürer, which seem in their turn to be inspired by Mantegna. Finally, Figure 7, by Rubens, is a still later reminiscence of the Belvederian. At first blush it appears ridiculous to seek far-reaching analogies and to suggest inspirations for such a pose, which, however at variance with "the essence of Dürer's conception of nature," is yet, in spite of what even a critic like Von Zahn may say, not unnatural. Its significance lies in the very fact that it is at variance, not only with "the essence of Dürer's conception of nature," but with that of all the Northern artists who preceded him. We of to-day cannot conceive how difficult it was for one of these artists to arrive at the freedom and unconstraint, at the self-forgetfulness, which find expression in these two figures. This becomes apparent at once when we compare, for instance, the group of Adam and Eve by Jan Van Eyck with the plate under consideration, and the "*Studies for Adam and Eve*" (No. 112 of this catalogue) may also be consulted for the same purpose. What awkward poses, what a difficulty in spreading their limbs, what a painful consciousness of nakedness these figures betray! Dürer's Adam and Eve, on the contrary, are quite unconscious of their nakedness,—without glorying in their

DRY-POINTS, AND ETCHINGS.



THE GENESIS OF DÜRER'S ADAM.

(No. 34.)

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limbs, they are yet not ashamed of them, and they do not, therefore, attempt to hide them. The great significance of these figures for the peoples north of the Alps is this, that they proclaim the emancipation of the flesh, under the influence of the antique,—its release from the curse which for fifteen hundred years had rested upon it. As in so many other things, the Italians were far in advance of them in this also. For proof see the groups of Adam and Eve by Filippino Lippi and by Masaccio, which are here cited, because they are easily attainable among the publications of the Arundel Society.

35 THE NATIVITY.—B 2; H 127; R 54; M 37.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1504, ON A TABLET.

a. A very beautiful impression. Black ink, clean wiped, and therefore transparent and harmonious throughout, which latter quality the fine tone of the paper aids materially. From the Fisher Collection.

b. Reversed copy. Heller, No. 136.

All the good impressions from this plate to be seen in the principal collections of Europe are printed like the one here shown,—black ink, clean wiped.

Apparently the print which Dürer calls "Christmas" in his Netherlands Diary.

36 APOLLO AND DIANA.—B 68; H 795; R 87; M 35.—MONOGRAM ON A PIECE OF PAPER; THE D REVERSED AND THEN CORRECTED.

Very fine impression, with just tinting enough in the close work to add richness, without impairing the transparency. The fine tone of the paper adds to the beauty of the general effect.

The tinting on this impression, although not yet perfectly under the control of the printer, is the first specimen among the prints here shown of a fairly successful attempt to produce an effect other than that which the engraved lines would give unaided. (See the accompanying reproduction.) The ground and the body of the stag, against which the lower limbs of the figures are luminously relieved, are perceptibly tinted, more especially the stag. The impressions in Paris, London, Dresden, and Berlin vary somewhat. The London impression resembles the one here shown, while that in Berlin is more cleanly wiped.



APOILLO AND DIANA.
(No.36.)

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The plate is assigned to about 1505 by Retberg, to 1504 by Thode. Heller names 1486-1500, which is evidently too early. The general daintiness of treatment suffices to indicate the period of 1504 to 1505. In no other plate, excepting "Adam and Eve," is there such delicate modeling of the flesh. The treatment of the ground may also be cited as evidence in favor of the period named. An examination of the earlier plates shows that in them the ground is worked in long sweeping lines, which are crossed by shorter curved lines only in the darkest shadows, while about the year 1504 or 1505 a more delicate treatment begins to prevail, although it would not do to say that it becomes general. See, besides the plate under consideration, the "St. George Standing" (No. 43), the later plates of "The Little Passion," and many of the still later plates.

The general relationship of this design to Jacopo de' Barbari's engraving and to Dürer's drawing (see Supplementary Illustrations, Nos. VIII and IX) is evident, although there is considerable variation in detail. Grimm, on the other hand, sees so much of Signorelli in the conception that he is "tempted sometimes to trace it back directly to him."

A drawing of the Apollo alone is published by Lippmann, No. 179.

37 THE SATYR AND HIS FAMILY.—B 69; H 819; R 83; M 39.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1505, ON A TABLET.

a. Very fine impression. Black ink, clean wiped, transparent even in the darkest shadows. Watermark, bull's head, only the flower visible. From the St. Aubyn Collection.

b. Also a very fine impression, but somewhat too full in the darkest shadows. This, in connection with the white paper, produces more contrast in this impression than in *a*. Slightly cut at top and bottom. Watermark, large bull's head, Hausmann, No. 1. From the Marshall Collection.

The impressions in Paris, London, and Berlin are all printed in pure black ink, clean wiped, like the above,—that is to say, in the old style. The workmanship, in comparison with that of No. 36, is also rather old-fashioned, but the date settles the question of position.

Called also "The Little Satyr" (to distinguish it from "Hercules" or "The Great Satyr," No. 17), "Pan and Syrinx," and "The Birth of Adonis." For the possible source of inspiration, see Thausing, I, p. 311.

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38 THE LITTLE HORSE.—B 96; H 1000; R 85; M 40.—

MONOGRAM ON A STONE; DATE, 1505, IN THE SKY.

a. Fine impression, black ink, generally speaking clean wiped, although the shadows are here and there a trifle too full. Very slight duplication of lines in lowest part. Watermark, bull's head, Hausmann, No. 1.

b. Reversed copy, apparently Heller's No. 1005.

The impressions in the Paris, London, Dresden, and Berlin cabinets are all printed in black ink, clean wiped. Only the one in London shows some tinting on the under side of the arch.

This and the following engraving, as well as the "St. Eustace" (No. 32), which see, and the "St. George on Horseback" (No. 42), are probably the outcome of Dürer's studies of the horse, on the proportions of which he intended to write a book, and the pseudo-mythological and other adjuncts may have been thrown in to make the subjects palatable to the educated public of the time, which was always ready for something either "antique" or "saintly." Heller and Retberg suggest that the man leading the animal may be Perseus. Thausing substitutes Mercury, and discusses the difficulties which stand in the way (I, p. 314). Springer ("Dürer," p. 57) also suggests Mercury and Pegasus.

39 THE GREAT HORSE.—B 97; H 1009; R 84; M 41.—

MONOGRAM IN LOWER RIGHT CORNER; DATE, 1505, IN THE SKY.

a. Very brilliant impression. Black ink, practically clean wiped, only the darkest shadows somewhat full. On white paper, with the watermark of the large bull's head, Hausmann, No. 1.

b. Similar impression, on paper of a fine warm tone. From the collection of the Earl of Aylesford.

The impression in Paris is a brilliant black one, clean wiped. The one in London is only good, practically clean wiped, with some smudging on the forelegs of the horse and the boot on the left leg of the soldier. Dresden has a fine, rather delicate impression, absolutely clean wiped, Berlin also a very fine clean-wiped one, in warmish black ink. A very fine, black, clean-wiped impression is in the Gray Collection, Boston.

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As Quad von Kinkelbach calls the "Hercules" (No. 17) "The Great Hercules," it seems probable that this print was known as "The Little Hercules." Thausing (I, p. 313) suggests that it may be meant to represent Hercules carrying off the mares of the Thracian Diomedes. (See the remarks under No. 38.)

40 THE THREE GENII WITH HELMET AND SHIELD.

— B 66; H 871; R 114; M 42.—MONOGRAM.

a. Very fine impression, warmish black ink, clean wiped. Would be absolutely perfect if the paper were in better condition.

b. Late impression, from the worn plate. Washed with India ink in the shadows. From the Cabinet Louis Galichon.

c. Copy by Jerome Wierix, "Æ 12," *i. e.*, engraved when he was twelve years of age. Alvin, No. 1574.

All the impressions from this plate in the collections examined are clean wiped.

Retberg, about 1507; Heller, 1507-14. Thausing, on the contrary, holds the plate to be an early one, showing the influence of Mantegna; but this theory is plainly contradicted by the workmanship and the monogram. As here placed, it would precede the second journey to Venice, which Dürer undertook in the year 1506.

A good example of the farfetched explanations attempted by the older admirers of Dürer is furnished in this instance by Retberg. According to him we have here a piece of Düreresque humor which he brought home with him from Venice in 1507, and which is to be thus expounded: "Genii trumpet forth Dürer's name to the right and to the left, and they also hold an escutcheon, to possess which was at that time every one's desire. But nothing is as yet recorded upon it, and the helmet that is being brought by another still hangs in air." See Von Sallet, p. 17, to the effect that the design is merely one of the fanciful coats-of-arms, without special meaning, which were then quite frequently engraved.

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41 THE WITCH.—B 67; H 867; R 115; M 44.—MONOGRAM,
WITH THE D REVERSED.

A very beautiful impression, warmish black ink, clean wiped, on paper of a very luminous tone. Watermark, large bull's head, Hausmann, No. 1.

All the impressions in the collections examined, including that of King Frederic Augustus II, in Dresden, are clean wiped.

Rethberg, about 1507; Heller, 1507-14. Thausing (I, p. 226) considers this, like the preceding plate, an early work composed under Italian, and more especially Mantegna's, influence. Middleton also recognizes the influence of Mantegna. The face of the witch forcibly recalls that of one of the marine monsters in Mantegna's "Battle of the Tritons." (See Supplementary Illustrations, No. XII.) Thausing also points out (II, p. 89) that the principal figure in Agostino Veneziano's "Lo Stregozzo" is a reminiscence of Dürer's witch. (See Supplementary Illustrations, No. XIII.) If these suggestions are tenable, which they certainly appear to be, we have here a curious example of "give and take",—Dürer taking the figure from an Italian source, and an Italian carrying it back to its native country. Again, as for No. 40, workmanship and monogram argue against a very early date for this plate, so that it seems safest to assign it to about the year 1506.

So far as the witch, riding backward on a goat and causing a hailstorm, is concerned, it is easy enough to understand the subject, in connection with popular superstitions and with the witch trials, which were in full blast about that time. The four genii, however, prove more troublesome, and all the learning expended upon them by Allihn (p. 49) leads only to the suggestion that they may perhaps represent the four seasons, disturbed in their smooth course by the unhallowed doings of the witch.

42 ST. GEORGE ON HORSEBACK.—B 54; H 746; R 120;
M 43.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1508, CHANGED FROM 1505,
ON A TAG.

a. Fine impression. Pure black, strong ink, clean wiped, lines somewhat full.

b. Also a nice impression, but in a warmer, softer ink, with perceptible tinting on the ground and the hindpart of the dragon; otherwise clean

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wiped. Slightly cut on all sides, false margin, restored all around with the pen,— all of this very cleverly done.

The impressions in the European cabinets examined are all similar to *a*, except the one in Berlin, which is more closely wiped than any of the others.

Very likely begun in 1505, when Dürer was specially occupied with the horse (see No. 38), and taken up again after his return from Venice.

43 ST. GEORGE STANDING.— B 53; H 737; R 121; M 31. — MONOGRAM ON A TABLET.

a. Very fine, brilliant impression. Black ink, somewhat full. Tinting in the foreground.

b. Reversed copy, not described.

There is an impression in London which is quite picturesque in its way,— printed in warmish ink, but with too much tinting, and indeed smudging, in the face and around the left arm of the saint. Dresden has a good clean-wiped impression, pure black, with very little tinting in the closest work; and Berlin a very fine clear impression, in pure black ink, almost without any tinting whatever.

Thausing assigns this plate to about the same time as "The Standard-Bearer" (No. 26 of this catalogue), *i. e.*, shortly after 1499. Middleton calls it "a companion print" to "The Standard-Bearer," and "probably of the same date." Heller places it between 1507 and 1514; Retberg and Hausmann about 1508, contemporaneous, that is to say, with the "St. George on Horseback" (No. 42). The two "St. George" are unquestionably of the same workmanship, and must, therefore, be placed together. They are totally different in this respect from "The Standard-Bearer," which is considerably earlier. It may seem improbable that Dürer should have treated the same subject twice at the same time, but there are other similar instances. "The Little Horse" and "The Great Horse" are both dated 1505, and the two "Saint Christopher" (Nos. 96 and 97), 1521. The graver slip, along the upper half of the right margin, seems to be on all impressions.

St. George, according to the legend, was a prince of Cappadocia, who died the death of a martyr under Diocletian. His most celebrated deed was the killing of the dragon which threatened to devour the royal princess Aja. The legend is of Oriental origin, and was introduced into Europe by the Crusaders. It is stated that the Emperor Maximilian I reorganized the order of St. George, which had fallen into decay, and possibly Dürer's two engravings of the saint were inspired by this action.

44 THE VIRGIN WITH THE CROWN OF STARS.—

B 31; H 517; R 118; M 47.—MONOGRAM; DATED 1508.

Very fine impression of the second state. Transparent throughout, with very slight tinting in the close work. From the De Arozarena Collection.

The two states of this plate differ in the halo about the figure of the Virgin, which consists of an inner and an outer oval of rays. In the first state the outer oval of shorter rays is not complete in the upper part; in the second state it has been completed.

The Berlin Cabinet has the two states, both printed in rich black ink, clean wiped. There is a black impression also in Paris, and a more delicate, although brilliant one, in slightly warmish black ink, clean wiped, in London, but the notes on which these remarks are based do not mention the state. The black impressions, as in other cases, are undoubtedly the earlier ones. Early impressions, of the first as well as of the second state, show slight scratches in the plate, which disappear later.

Dürer goes back in this print to the time-honored conception of the Virgin as the Queen of Heaven, standing on the crescent, which we have met with once before among his very early work, "The Virgin on the Crescent, without Crown," No. 8. In this latter he was still under the influence of Schongauer's gentle idealism. Here he shows himself emancipated, and gives free play to his realistic tendencies in the representation of the heavenly vision, with a result which can hardly escape the accusation of incongruity. The "Man in the Moon," abandoned in later years, still appears here.

45 CHRIST DYING UPON THE CROSS.—B 24; H 426;

R 119; M 46.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1508, ON A TABLET.

a. Very fine impression, with light yet very apparent tinting, even on the lights in the sky. Black ink. From the Fountaine-Walker Collection.

b. Impression from the worn plate, quite clean wiped.

The printing of this plate, compared with other plates, is very instructive, and may serve to make clear once more (see also Introduction, p. xxxviii) the difference in the meaning of the terms so often used in previous descriptions, viz.:

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“filling,” “smudging,” and “tinting.” Filling is spoken of when the lines, although the plate is clean wiped (*i. e.*, when the intention is to remove all ink from the surface of the plate), are so full of ink that, in the closest parts, they run together so as to form one black mass. See, for instance, No. 13b, “The Virgin and Child with the Monkey.” In this print, although it is very beautiful and rich, some of the darkest parts are filled. In No. 13a, on the contrary, and in No. 7, “The Penance of St. John Chrysostom,” there is no filling, and consequently the minute spots which represent the surface of the plate not cut away by the graver are still seen, even in the very darkest, most closely worked parts. Whoever has tried his hand at printing knows that the thing is not as easy as it looks, and that it requires considerable practice to be able to wipe the surface of a plate absolutely clean without wiping the ink out of the lines. The old printers also experienced this difficulty, and the result was “smudging,” which, in its origin, was an unwelcome accident, but which led to “tinting.” For an example of probably accidental “smudging,” see No. 8, “The Virgin on the Crescent, without Crown.” For a still primitive attempt to utilize what had heretofore been simply accident, see No. 9, “The Little Fortune,” and for a much more successful attempt, see No. 33b, “Nemesis.” Dürer and his printers saw the advantages which might be derived from these “accidents,” if they could only be brought under control, and thus made obedient servants. The ink of the printer might then be used to produce effects which the engraver alone could not reach. The experiments made led to *artificial printing*, but, curiously enough, only to “tinting,” not to “retroussage,” which is a modern invention (see Introduction, p. xli). Having hit upon the proper consistency of the ink, and having acquired the necessary skill, the printers now found it possible to leave a thin film of ink on the surface of the plate,—so thin and so evenly laid as to leave even the most closely worked parts transparent, yet bound together, while the lights could be wiped clean. Henceforth we shall find that this “tinting” process is used on most of Dürer’s plates, although clean wiping is not, as a matter of course, entirely abandoned.

All the prints from this plate examined, whether in the cabinets or elsewhere, show more or less tinting, some of them even too much,—as, for instance, one in the Berlin Cabinet, which has an altogether too heavy tint throughout. The paper is somewhat rubbed, as if an attempt had been made to reduce the tint. [From a note made in the year 1895.] The very best proofs from this plate, printed in a warmish ink, have a beautiful ivory-like quality, due in great part to the tint left standing in the closely worked parts, which in this case means nearly the whole of the plate.

In its handling, and in its pictorial completeness, this plate readily shows its close relationship to the plates of “The Little Passion,” more especially those of the same year.

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Dürer, in his Diary, calls this plate "The Cross." It is often spoken of as "The Great Cross," or "Crucifixion," to distinguish it from B 23 (No. 88 of this catalogue). The St. John in this design is usually described as an almost literal copy from the same figure in Mantegna's "Entombment," but there are many points of difference.

THE PASSION, ON COPPER.

B 3-18; H 139, etc.; R 92-107; M 50, etc.

46 TITLE-PAGE: THE MAN OF SORROWS.—MONOGRAM;
DATED 1509.

47 THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN.—MONOGRAM AND DATE,
1508, ON A TAG.

a. Fine early impression.

b. Impression from the worn plate.

48 CHRIST TAKEN BY THE JEWS.—MONOGRAM AND DATE,
1508, ON A TAG.

49 CHRIST BEFORE CAIAPHAS.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1512,
ON A TABLET.

50 CHRIST BEFORE PILATE.—MONOGRAM; DATED 1512.

51 THE FLAGELLATION.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1512, ON
A TABLET.

a. Fine early impression.

b. Impression from the worn plate.

DRY-POINTS, AND ETCHINGS.

52 CHRIST CROWNED WITH THORNS.—MONOGRAM AND
DATE, 1512, ON TWO TABLETS.

53 ECCE HOMO!—MONOGRAM; DATED 1512.

54 PILATE WASHING HIS HANDS.—MONOGRAM; DATED
1512.

55 CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS.—MONOGRAM AND DATE,
1512, ON A TABLET.

56 THE CRUCIFIXION.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1511, ON TWO
TAGS.

57 THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS.—MONOGRAM; DATED
1507.

58 THE ENTOMBMENT.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1512, ON A
TABLET.

59 CHRIST IN LIMBO.—MONOGRAM ON A TAG; DATED 1512.

60 THE RESURRECTION.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1512, ON
A TAG.

61 STS. PETER AND JOHN HEALING AT THE TEMPLE
GATE.—MONOGRAM; DATED 1513.

Very fine set, in uniformly good impressions.

CATALOGUE OF DÜRER'S ENGRAVINGS,

The plates of this set are arranged above as they are intended to be seen, that is to say, in the order in which they follow as illustrations of the Bible story. In an examination of their technical qualities they must be taken in the order of date, as follows:

- 1507. No. 57: The Descent from the Cross.
- 1508. " 47: The Agony in the Garden.
- " " 48: Christ taken by the Jews.
- 1509. " 46: The Man of Sorrows. (Title-page.)
- 1511. " 56: The Crucifixion.
- 1512. " 49: Christ before Caiaphas.
- " " 50: Christ before Pilate.
- " " 51: The Flagellation.
- " " 52: Christ crowned with Thorns.
- " " 53: Ecce Homo!
- " " 54: Pilate washing his Hands.
- " " 55: Christ bearing the Cross.
- " " 58: The Entombment.
- " " 59: Christ in Limbo.
- " " 60: The Resurrection.
- 1513. " 61: Sts. Peter and John healing at the Temple Gate.

The plates of 1507 and of 1509 are the simplest in execution of the whole series. The two of 1508, as well as that of 1511, are of similar workmanship, but are carried farther toward pictorial completeness, and readily show their close relationship, as already pointed out, to "Christ dying on the Cross" (No. 45), of the same year. In the plates of 1512 Dürer has carried his striving after variety of texture farther than in any of his previous plates, and an endeavor to arrive at a more harmonious development of chiaroscuro is also very apparent in these compositions. At the same time, they show the artist at the height of his technical skill; they are carried to the utmost degree of mechanical perfection, in the attainment of which, it cannot be denied, some of the spontaneity and freedom of the earlier work has been lost. This "finish" may, in part, account for the great popularity of the set. It has been copied any number of times (see Heller), and the plates have been printed from until they have been worn almost out of recognition. A couple of these hideous late impressions are here shown as deterrent examples (Nos. 47b and 51b). The last plate finally, dated 1513, only loosely connected with the others as regards the Bible story, is the same in method as those of the preceding year, but seems to betray a feeling of fatigue.

In the printing, the set in this exhibition,—and, as it would seem, all good sets,—varies somewhat. The title-page, being the most open in work, although



ST. VERONICA WITH THE SUDARIUM.
(No. 62.)

DRY-POINTS, AND ETCHINGS.

not the oldest (1509), is quite clean wiped; No. 57, the earliest (1507), is practically clean wiped. In the other plates there is more or less very delicate tinting. It is quite specially apparent in No. 49, "Christ before Caiaphas." The figure of Caiaphas is clean wiped, even to his right foot standing on the stone platform, on which latter a tint has been left. The heads of Christ and the two soldiers, the breastplate of the soldier nearest Caiaphas, the right shoulder of Christ, and the right hand, holding the lance, of the soldier on his right side (left of plate), are also wiped clean,—purposely "picked out,"—while all the rest of the plate shows a very perceptible, although delicate, tint. What has just been said holds good also, in a general way, of the various sets examined in Europe, and of the very beautiful one in the Print Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. "Christ before Caiaphas," No. 49, always challenges attention by its artificial printing, and, in most cases, "Christ before Pilate," No. 50, and the "Ecce Homo!" No. 53, are about equal to it in this respect. But more or less delicate tinting is apparent in all those plates which have not been specially mentioned as clean wiped.

Of all of Dürer's engravings on metal this set is the most frequently mentioned in his Netherlands Diary, among sales as well as gifts. His price for it was half a florin. Also called "The Little Passion on Copper," to distinguish it from the large and the small "Passion" on wood.

62 ST. VERONICA WITH THE SUDARIUM.—B 64; H 464; R 167; M 64.—MONOGRAM; DATED 1510.

a. Photogravure reproduction from the impression in the collection of King Frederic Augustus II, of Saxony, in Dresden (see plate).

b. Petrak's copy. Like all of Petrak's copies, it is very pretty,—that is to say, too pretty to do justice to the original.

A dry-point plate, which, however, shows little or no bur, Dürer's first attempt of the kind. Passavant's statement (III, p. 146) that this is a niello is incomprehensible, and is refuted by the fact that the monogram and the date are not reversed in the impression. Thausing points out the resemblance to Schon-gauer's rendering of the same subject, but this is due simply to the fact that

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both artists followed the usual type. Only two impressions from this plate are known, the one here reproduced, and another in the Albertina, at Vienna. (See the Introduction, p. xxvi, etc.).

63 THE VIRGIN WITH THE PEAR.—B 41; H 621; R 194;
M 53.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1511, ON SEPARATE TABLETS.

a. Very fine impression. Warmish black ink, slight tinting in the close work, especially in the foreground; the lights, the distance, and the sky clean wiped. On paper of a fine warmish tone. From the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch.

b. Also a very fine impression. Black ink, on somewhat lighter paper, similarly printed, but the sky and distance not wiped as closely as in *a*, with the result that they "come forward" somewhat too much. Watermark similar to Hausmann, No. 7. From the Von Feder and Von Liphart Collections.

The impressions in Paris, London, Dresden, and Berlin are of the most brilliant sort, printed in the blackest ink, with very little tinting.

The workmanship harmonizes closely with the plate of "The Little Passion," which bears the same date, 1511,—that is to say, it is quite uniform, with very little striving for difference in texture.

Thausing (II, pp. 59, 60) rates this as one of the two most beautiful Madonnas engraved by Dürer, the other being B 35 (No. 67 of this catalogue),—a rating which will probably be questioned. There is a pen study in the Berlin Cabinet (Lippmann, No. 29).

64 THE MAN OF SORROWS, WITH HANDS TIED.—

B 21; H 445; R 195; M 64.—MONOGRAM; DATED 1512.

Good, although very delicate impression.

Dürer's second dry-point plate. The work must have been very delicate, with but little bur, from the beginning. Certainly the impressions in the cabinets at Paris, London, Dresden, and Berlin show scarcely any. Passavant also states that it is always found "*très-faible de ton*." (See Introduction, p. xxvi, etc. See Lippmann, No. 319, for a drawing in the Louvre.)

*Facsimile
Reproduction*



ST. JEROME BY THE WILLOW-TREE.
(No. 65.)

65 ST. JEROME BY THE WILLOW TREE.—B 59; H 770;
R 196; M 65.—MONOGRAM IN THE 2D STATE; DATED 1512.

a. First state, before the monogram. Photogravure reproduction of the proof in the Print Room of the British Museum, London, the richest impression known.

b. First state, before the monogram. Photogravure reproduction of the proof in the Albertina, at Vienna. Not as rich as *a*, the bur having begun to wear.

c. Second state, with the monogram. Photogravure reproduction of one of the richest impressions of this state known, in the Albertina, at Vienna (see plate).

d. Second state, with the monogram. Impression from the plate itself. Not as rich as the impression from which the photogravure *c* was made, but still showing some of the bur, and much richer than the impressions ordinarily seen. Note especially the monogram, which exhibits very plainly, not only the characteristic impressed dry-point white line, but even the jagged edge of the bur.

e. Third state, that is to say, after the bur had worn off completely. In this state the plate is a mere ruin, and there is a hole in it, to left of middle, near the lower margin. Watermark, a castle-gate, but different from those given by Hausmann. From the Storck Collection.

The series of prints here shown gives a good idea of the wearing of the plate, although the photogravure *a* emphasizes the contrasts somewhat too much, and, in the nature of things, cannot quite render the velvetiness of dry-point. Impressions showing any bur at all are very rare, so that most collections, public as well as private, are compelled to put up with prints from the ruined plate, like *e*. Of the first state, before the monogram, only the two impressions are known from which reproductions are shown here. Besides the fine second state in Vienna (see *c.*), there is a good impression of the same state in Paris, and fairly good ones in London and Berlin. Middleton says there are two impressions known "before the monogram and date," but he does not name the collection or collections in which they are to be found.

This is Dürer's third dry-point, strengthened here and there with the graver.

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Thausing (II, p. 62) is inclined to think that Rembrandt must have been inspired by it to take up the dry-point. In the light of the impressions from the ruined plate, which were, heretofore, the only ones accessible to American students, this suggestion seemed incredible. The series here shown gives more coloring to it. (See Introduction, p. xxvi, etc.)

66 THE HOLY FAMILY.—B 43; H 648; R 222; M 66.—

WITHOUT MONOGRAM OR DATE.

a. First state. Magnificent impression from the plate in its best condition, showing all the richness of effect produced by the bur.

b. Second state, with the graver stroke across the face of the Madonna, and all the bur worn off. From the Ruhl Collection.

Fine impressions from this plate are also quite rare, and, as in the case of the "St. Jerome" (No. 65), even celebrated public collections must content themselves with the ruins usually seen. London has a fine, rich impression, and so has Berlin. The only other good impression in the United States, besides the one here shown, is in the Gray Collection, Boston. It is fairly rich in bur, but unfortunately has been cut on top, and is otherwise damaged. Three states have been made of this plate, with bur, without bur, and with the graver stroke. A fourth might be made,—after the attempted removal of the graver stroke. But these are not really states, and it would be best,—as also in the case of the "St. Jerome",—to drop the designation "states" altogether, and to speak only of impressions with much, with little, or without bur, and of impressions from the ruined plate. There are even worse impressions than *b*, with scratches in other parts of the plate. The short, heavy, diagonal scratch immediately over the stone in lower right corner seems to show on all impressions.

Although there is neither monogram nor date on this plate, it is unhesitatingly accepted as by Dürer, and is generally accounted to be his fourth and last dry-point, which would assign it to the year 1512 or later. He never tried the process again. The bad wearing qualities of such plates probably disappointed him, and he cared too little for chiaroscuro to become enamored of the dry-point, as Rembrandt did in the succeeding century. Little did he think, no doubt, when, in his disgust, he ran his graver across the face of the Virgin, for the purpose of making the plate useless for ever, that it would outlive him, and would be used, almost to his disgrace, in after generations.

Heller assigns the plate to 1500-06, probably because the monogram and the date 1506 have been added on an early copy. The same intrinsically unreliable



THE HOLY FAMILY.
(No. 66.)

*Facsimile
Reproduction*

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piece of evidence misleads even Von Zahn to say (on p. 49, in the course of his remarks on the slightness of the influence exercised on Dürer by Venetian art): "Only the etched [should be "dry-pointed"] representation of the Holy Family executed in the year of his stay at Venice is pervaded by a harmony which gives it spiritual kinship with the largeness of conception of the Venetian school, and which extends to all the figures, with the exception of the ugly child." Professor Colvin, who, however, favors 1513, also speaks of this plate ("Portfolio," 1877) as the one "in which Dürer draws nearest to Italian types, and in one figure at least, the bearded Joseph with his upturned face, is almost with strictness Venetian." A similar remark might be applied to the St. Jerome in the preceding plate, which is clearly dated 1512. There is no reason, therefore, why this "Holy Family" should not be grouped together with the rest of Dürer's dry-points. Retberg dates it about 1516, without giving a reason.

Dürer's dry-points furnish a striking illustration of the loose manner in which, as a rule, technical questions are treated by writers on art. Bartsch, who certainly ought to have known better, speaks of this "Holy Family," as well as of the "St. Jerome by the Willow Tree" and "The Man of Sorrows, with Hands tied," as etchings on plates of iron (although he opines the "St. Veronica" to be a dry-point), and many writers have followed him in this, in spite of the fact that Retberg and Hausmann long ago pointed out their true nature, and that an examination of a good impression distinctly shows the peculiar white lines which are characteristic of dry-point work. (See Introduction, p. xxvi, etc.)

67 THE VIRGIN SEATED, CARESSING THE CHRIST CHILD.—B 35; H 599; R 201; M 68.—MONOGRAM; DATED 1513.

a. Very fine, clear impression, with very delicate tinting in close work. Black ink on white paper.

b. Also a very fine impression, but slightly warmer, which is due to heavier tinting, and, principally, to the color of the paper, which, although white, is not as purely white as that of *a*. From the Peoli Collection.

The impressions examined in the European cabinets vary in the ink and the wiping about as those here exhibited, but all of them show some tinting, even the one in Dresden, which is closer wiped than the others.

Thausing classes this plate and B 41 (No. 63 of this catalogue) as the two

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most beautiful engravings of the Madonna by Dürer, and points out a similarity in motive to Raphael's "Virgin of the Casa Tempi." It may be well to note here that in Heller's description of the copy, No. 600 of his list, the marks given are reversed, so that, according to him, the original would appear to be the copy.

68 THE SUDARIUM DISPLAYED BY TWO ANGELS.—

B 25; H 467; R 202; M 70.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1513,
ON A TAG.

a. Very fine, silvery impression. Black ink, practically clean wiped, on white paper. From the Mariette and the Von Liphart Collections.

b. Also very fine, but quite different—warmish black ink, on paper of a luminous tone, with delicate tinting in the close work. The result is more contrast than in *a*, despite the softer ink.

The impressions in the European cabinets, and that in the Gray Collection, Boston, are, generally speaking, like *a*.

Mr. Middleton contends that this plate "was both bitten-in and completed with the acid." (See the remarks in the Introduction, pp. xxxv, xxxvi.)

This appears to be the print to which Dürer, in his Netherlands Diary, alludes as "The Veronica." Bartsch calls it "The Face of Christ." Thausing advances the conjecture (II, p. 61) that it was intended as a *finale* to "The Passion on Copper," although it differs from the plates composing this series in shape as well as in size.

69 THE KNIGHT, DEATH, AND THE DEVIL.—B 98; H

1013; R 203; M 69.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1513, PRE-
CEDED BY AN S, ON A TABLET.

a. Very fine impression. Black ink, clean wiped, white paper.

b. Very fine, rich impression. Warmish black ink, clean wiped, but some of the most closely worked parts filled, on tinted paper.

c. Very good impression, on delicately tinted paper, printed in a warmish ink, very closely wiped, but yet with slight tinting, and for all these reasons producing a soft effect.

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d. Similar to *c*, but printed with a colder ink. Broad margin. From the Von Liphart Collection.

e. Copy. Heller, No. 3.

A very interesting series of impressions, and yet none of them quite equal to the two in the Gray Collection, Boston. One of these is considerably darker than either of the four here shown, printed in intensely black ink on white paper, the lines very full, with just a suspicion of tinting throughout the close work. The other, more "silvery,"—that is to say, more closely wiped,—without any tinting, also in intensely black ink on white paper, stands between the dark impression and our *a*. The impression in London, in a rich, warmish black, is clean wiped, with very little tinting; Dresden has one of the delicate, rather grayish impressions, with much delicate tinting; Berlin a very fine dark impression, but nevertheless quite clean wiped, and therefore open throughout. The impression in Paris is framed. For this plate, the dark impressions are decidedly to be preferred, as the dark tone emphasizes the "Stimmung" (see below, under No. 71).

As to the meaning of the composition, Dürer himself is, unfortunately, quite non-committal, since he speaks of this plate simply as "A Horseman." The titles invented for it by others are manifold: "Le Manège" (the art of riding or the riding-school), "The Horse of Death," "The Knight of Death," "The Knight of the Reformation," "Fortitude" (Ruskin), etc. Old catalogues say that it represents a Nuremberg soldier, named Rinck or Rinneck, who lost his way and met death and the devil in the darkness of the night—a story which is contradicted by the lighting of the composition. Heller calls it "The Christian Knight with Death and the Devil," and states that it has been held to represent Franz von Sickingen (mildly indicated by the S before the date), "who was especially and generally feared in Germany about 1510–12, and whose character was depicted by his enemies at the time in the most terrible and damaging manner." Retberg styles it "The Knight in Spite of Death and the Devil," and conjectures that Dürer intended it as a sort of monument to his friend Stefan Paumgärtner, whence the S which precedes the date. Rosenberg, on the contrary, who, with others, including Kaufmann (p. 66), connects the subject with the Dance of Death, sees in it rather "Death and the Devil in Spite of all Knighthood," and explains the S as *salus*, being an abbreviation of *anno salutis* (in the year of grace). Thausing, who says that the knight is grinning, to show how little he is affected by the apparitions around him, therein agreeing with Mr. Ruskin, is of opinion that the plate was intended to form one of a series illustrating the four temperaments, and that the S stands for *sanguinicus*. (See below, under Nos. 70 and 71.) Springer, following Ephrussi, conjectures that

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the horseman is simply the "Christian Knight," and that the inspiration came from a book, "Miles Christianus," written by Erasmus, in which said knight is exhorted to do battle against the world, the flesh, and the devil. As this interpretation would need three apparitions, the poor dog, who is faithfully trotting along at the heels of his master, would have to be degraded to the rôle of the flesh! It is interesting to note also Vasari's description. He speaks of the plate (Mrs. Foster, III, p. 494) as representing "an armed man on horseback, as the symbol of Human Force, which is finished with such care that the glitter of the arms and the gloss of the black horse's coat are clearly to be distinguished, an effect of very difficult production in design. This bold rider had Death with his hour-glass beside him, and the Devil behind. There was in the same picture a rough-haired dog, executed with the most subtle delicacy that can possibly be given to an engraving." Even the blades of grass under the hoof of the right hind leg of the horse have become objects of discussion, some holding them to indicate a trap into which the horse is about to step, while others, like Mr. Ruskin (see his remarks, "Modern Painters," Part IX, Chap. iv), explain them as a former outline which Dürer did not know how to efface. It is claimed by Grimm, who is followed by Thausing, that the horse is modeled on that of Verrocchio's Colleoni. This is quite impossible, however, unless we assume that Dürer, in trying to improve upon his model, falsified it after a most astonishing fashion. For while Verrocchio's horse is correct in its gait, Dürer's has the position of the feet conventionally adopted by most sculptors, but which, as Mr. Muybridge's investigations have shown us, is totally at variance with nature. Dürer's studies for this plate (in the Ambrosiana, at Milan, and the Uffizi, at Florence, according to Ephrussi), or at least the studies which he utilized in it, reach back to the year 1498. (See also the remarks in regard to "Stimmung," etc., under No. 71.)

70 MELANCHOLY.—B 74; H 846; R 209; M 74.—MONOGRAM;

DATED 1514.

a. Very brilliant impression, with the face of the brooding genius in perfect condition. Strong black ink, on white paper, practically clean wiped, but rather full in the lines, and therefore the darkest parts filled. All this, however, tends to add to the effect of disquietude, which is the keynote of the composition. (See below, under No. 71.) From the Brodhurst Collection.

b. Fine impression, printed in a softer, warmish black ink, very slight

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tinging, and therefore transparent throughout. From the Ruhl Collection.

c. Similar to **b**, ink somewhat colder, the distance wiped more closely, which throws it back better. Duplicate from the Berlin Cabinet, formerly in the Von Nagler Collection.

d. A very good impression, the face in quite perfect condition. Printed in soft warmish ink, with a very perceptible tint all over the plate, which gives to the impression a somewhat heavy appearance, and reduces the contrasts too much.

e. Copy. If this is the copy by Jan Wierix, which, at first sight, it would seem to be, it is a proof before letter. Alvin, No. 1576, says that in the lower margin of this copy is engraved: "Johan. Wiricx. Fecit. Ann. 1603," and others say that this margin is generally cut away. But here the margin evidently is not cut away, and yet there is no lettering. Possibly it is Heller's copy No. 847, with which it agrees in size.

Impressions **a** and **b** offer again a good opportunity to observe the difference between filling and tinting. The best impressions in the European cabinets examined are those in London and Berlin. The former is a beautiful silvery gray impression, in rather coldish black ink, practically clean wiped, with only very slight tinting here and there,—on the polygon for instance,—probably accidental. The impression in Berlin is in warmish black ink, with very little tinting. In the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, there are no less than three impressions, one belonging to the Print Collection of the Museum itself, the two others to the Gray Collection. Of these, the first is the finest, a silvery gray impression, in soft black ink, clean wiped, the face quite intact. The face of the brooding genius, which never was a success as a piece of engraving, technically considered, soon began to wear, and it is therefore often defective. The slight blemish in the water, a black spot about one quarter of an inch above the polygon, seems to occur in all impressions.

This has always been one of the popular favorites among Dürer's works, and all the more so because of its enigmatical character. Within certain limits, the subject is easy enough to understand. Dürer calls it "Melancholy" in his Netherlands Diary, and this title, "Melencolia. I.," is plainly indicated on the print itself. But here the difficulty begins. Is the character after the word *Melencolia* the figure *one* or the letter *I*? Passavant (III, p. 153) claims that it is the latter, and that it means "Melencolia i!"—"Melancholy avault!" Thau-

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sing, on the other hand, sees in it merely a numeral, indicating that the print is the first in a series of the Four Temperaments, but Allihn (p. 98) asks pointedly: "Who among the contemporaries of Dürer would have found this solution?" Again, it may be objected,—If this is a number, why did not Dürer number the other plates? For further details the student is referred to Allihn, p. 94 etc. Thausing (II, p. 222) writes as follows: "The winged woman who, supporting her cheek in her left hand, and with a laurel wreath on her loosely bound hair, is seated plunged in gloomy meditation, all the materials for human labor, for art, and for science lying scattered around her,—what could she be meant to represent but Human Reason, in despair at the limits imposed upon her power?" That the theory of the Four Temperaments was very popular at the time, and quite likely to inspire Dürer, has been well shown by Allihn. Ephrussi, Springer, and Kaufmann also agree that we have here a representation of one of the Four Temperaments, but they call attention to the fact that, in Dürer's time, these "temperaments" did not signify "moods," but classes of men. "Melancholic," therefore, did not mean morose, brooding, but studious. In this sense, Dürer himself belonged to the "melancholic" class, in as much as he was studious. From this point of view, the print under consideration would be nothing more than an allegory of study and labor. Vasari describes it as follows (Mrs. Foster's translation, III, p. 491): "On one plate, of half-folio, he delineated Melancholy, surrounded by all those instruments which are wont to bring thoughts of sadness to him who uses them, or to the man who listens to their strains [*sic!*]; the whole being so well expressed that it is not possible for the burin to produce more delicate results." (See the general remarks on "Stimmung," etc., under No. 71. See also Mr. Ruskin, in "Modern Painters," Part IX, Chap. iv.)

Much discussion has been caused by the "magic square," with the bell over it and the hour-glass to left of it. Whether we read the numbers across horizontally, or up and down, or along the diagonals which cross it from corner to corner, the sum is always 34. Cust writes, p. 63: "There can be no doubt that the so-called 'magic square' refers directly to the death of his [Dürer's] mother. His mother died on May 17, 1514. Now, the figures on the square can be read as follows: The two figures in the opposite corners to each other, 16+1 and 13+4, make 17, the day of the month; so do the figures in the center read crossways, 10+7 and 11+6, and also the middle figures at the sides read across, 5+12 and 8+9. The two middle figures in the top line, 3+2, give 5, the month in question; and the two middle figures in the bottom line give the year, 1514. Above the square a bell tolls the fatal knell, and the sandglass timepiece hard by records no doubt the hour at which the sad event happened." It may not be worth while to point out that there is some doubt as to the exact date of the death of Dürer's mother,—whether she

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died on May 16 or May 17 (for the evidence see Lange and Fuhse, pp. 9 and 13, with the footnotes, and p. 396), but Cust's reference to Anton Springer's book is certainly not justified, as the author named merely speaks of the sum of 34, produced by reading across, etc. In accordance with the idea here developed, Cust (pp. 61-64) would bring this whole group of engravings, Nos. 69, 70, and 71, into close connection with the artist's private life.

71 ST. JEROME IN HIS STUDY.—B 60; H 756; R 208; M 73.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1514, ON A TABLET.

a. Very beautiful, silvery impression. Soft black ink, on white paper, very delicate tinting in the close work. From the Crawhall and the Marshall Collections.

b. Also a very fine impression. Printed in somewhat warmer ink than *a*, and a trifle heavier. From the Von Liphart Collection.

c. Copy by Jerome Wierix, "Æ 13," *i. e.*, engraved when he was only thirteen years old. Alvin, No. 992.

It is absolutely necessary to have this print in delicate, thoroughly transparent impressions. One of its greatest charms is the reflected light which fills the room and penetrates even the shadow under the bench along the wall. This effect, which is so thoroughly in accord with the subject,—expresses its "Stimmung" (see the remarks below),—is lost in heavy or dull impressions. It is this transparency which gives their charm to the impressions shown. Nevertheless, it must be said that there are still better, more "silvery" ones. An impression of this kind is the one in the Gray Collection, Boston,—printed in a soft black ink, on whitish paper, practically clean wiped, with only almost imperceptible tinting in the close work. Possibly the print might make a still sunnier effect if the ink were slightly warmer. There is nothing better, however, than the impression just described to be seen in the cabinets of either Paris, London, Dresden, or Berlin, in spite of the fact that it has a false margin, which, as a matter of course, does not affect its artistic qualities.

It is a relief to come upon a subject among Dürer's works which is so sufficient in itself as to need no explanation. The story of St. Jerome was popular at the time (see under No. 6), and it is quite natural, therefore, that Dürer should have utilized the Saint, tranquilly at work upon his translation of the Bible, the Vulgate, as the life-giving human element in the representation of a quiet, comfortable, sunlit interior, which, in spite of Mr. Hamerton's criticisms,

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will continue to please mankind by its very wealth of detail. Nor does this detail disturb the general effect, as those may see who will take the trouble to look at the picture through the hollow hand. The claim of the commentators on Dürer, that this plate is the third in the proposed series of the "Four Temperaments" (leaving only the choleric to be provided for), does not interfere with its enjoyment, even if we accept Thausing's interpretation. "The phlegmatic temperament," says he (II, p. 224), "must be the one here intended to be represented, but phlegmatic in the higher sense of the word, a sense, too, which was in accordance with the history of the time. Dürer's St. Jerome is symbolical of that humanistic learning which, coming from Italy, found its chief representative in Erasmus of Rotterdam,— of that aristocratic intellectual tendency which desires above all to secure the theoretical standpoint of knowledge, attaching itself exclusively to the governing classes, and keeping carefully clear of the people and their life. This wise man, were he to speak, would cry out in the words of Goethe's scholar in the second part of 'Faust':

"The present leads us to exaggeration.
I seek in what is written my salvation."

Vasari, without going into speculations as to its meaning, speaks very highly of this plate (Mrs. Foster, III, p. 495): "Finally, Albert Dürer sent forth his plate of San Jeronimo, robed in the vestments of a cardinal, and writing, with the lion sleeping at his feet. In this engraving the master has imitated a chamber with windows of glass, and the rays of the sun streaming through them fall on the place where the saint sits writing, in a manner which is so natural as to be a marvel. There are, moreover, books, clocks, writings, and a large number of objects besides, all so well done that in this branch of art there could not well be imagined anything better."

But, whatever the exact meaning of the "St. Jerome" and its two companion plates may be,— whether we accept them, with Thausing, Kaufmann, and others, as fragments of a supposed series of the "Four Temperaments," or whether we are ready to listen to the objections of Ephrussi,— certain it is that they fully deserve the fame and favor which they have so long commanded, and that for this fame and favor there is quite a peculiar reason. It is evident at first sight that they possess a pictorial quality which is not equaled by any other of the artist's works. They are as "finished," as complete, and yet not as "set," as the plates of "The Little Passion," and they display an agreeable variety of texture which calls up suggestions of color. These, however, are not their only, nor their best qualities. "The Knight, Death, and the Devil," "Melancholy," and "St. Jerome in his Study," are, of all Dürer's engravings, those in which he most transcends the limits of his slavery to outward formalism, and rises into that higher artistic realm where the emotions have control.

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These three prints are truly "Stimmungsbilder," and as such they stand alone, not only among the works of Dürer, but also among those of his predecessors and contemporaries, certainly as far as engraving is concerned, and quite probably also painting. That this is so has repeatedly been recognized in the case of the "St. Jerome." "What Dürer sought above all [in this print]" says Ephrussi, "is a striking effect of light, which he obtained with rare success." Only later, he adds, the Dutch, and they only, and especially Rembrandt, attained to such prodigious skill in this respect. And Springer says: "The 'St. Jerome' is throughout of a thoroughly painter-like type, and for this reason is epoch-making, in Dürer's development, as well as in the history of engraving." But what is true of the "St. Jerome" is true also of its companions, although in their case it may not be so obviously apparent. "Stimmung," in a painting, —there is no absolute equivalent in English for the word as here used,— is the effect produced by the lighting on the mind of the beholder. It "attunes" him, it puts him into a mood with the motive of the picture, it appeals directly to his emotions, while the lines of the composition and the forms which they produce appeal primarily to his intellect. And Dürer begins to realize here, even if he never fully learned to comprehend, this power which lies in effects of light: the somber gloom of "The Knight, Death, and the Devil"; the weird, unearthly glitter of the "Melancholy," with its uncertain, glinting lights; the soft tranquil sunshine of the "St. Jerome," are all in accordance with their several subjects, which, whether they were originally intended or not to represent "classes of men" or "moods," certainly call up the latter in the minds of the beholder,—the steady courage of the valiant fighter for the right, undismayed by darkness and dangers; the brooding, leading well-nigh to despair, over the vain efforts of human science to lift the veil of the eternal secret, and the calm content of the mind at peace with itself and the world around it. Does not this unity of contrast, so to speak,—this conscious variation in the lighting of these three prints,—go to prove that they belong together? Among the writers who have grasped the idea here developed, F. Lippmann is especially to be mentioned ("Der Kupferstich," pp. 49, 50).

One is almost tempted to despair of Mr. Ruskin's ability to be just, reading such a passage as this in his "Ariadne": "People are always talking of his [Dürer's] Knight and Death, and his Melancholia, as if those were his principal works. They are his characteristic ones, and show what he might have been *without* his anatomy; but they were mere byeplay compared to his Greater Fortune and Adam and Eve." Simply to uphold a notion of his, Mr. Ruskin here ignores the fact that the two prints last named were done ten years before the "Knight," etc., and places the work of Dürer's maturer years, in which he embodied the experience of the man, below the results of earlier efforts, in which the effect of experimental studies is still unpleasantly visible.

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The "Knight, Death, and the Devil" is mentioned only twice in the Diary, "Melancholy" seven, the "St. Jerome" twelve times. Dürer's price for them, as for the others of his "full sheets," was eight for one florin.

72 THE BAGPIPER.—B 91; H 895; R 211; M 77.—MONOGRAM;
DATED 1514.

Very fine impression. Soft, warmish ink, quite clean in the lights, very delicate tinting in the close work. From the Robert-Dumesnil Collection.

All the impressions from this plate examined in Europe are in general like the one here shown, *i. e.*, warmish black ink, clean in the lights, delicate tinting in the close work. In the two impressions in the Berlin Cabinet, short, faint gray lines, about one eighth of an inch long, are seen in the lower right corner, in the triangle formed by the upper contour of the ground and the border line. These lines have the appearance of shallow broad lines, wiped out. The impression in this exhibition shows traces in the same place, as if the lines had been polished out on the plate, but not quite successfully. The presence of these lines would therefore seem to be a sign of early impression.

Springer (p. 168) and Ephrussi (p. 200) mention a study for this plate in the Berlin Cabinet, but Lippmann does not reproduce it.

73 DANCING PEASANTS.—B 90; H 912; R 210; M 77.—
MONOGRAM; DATED 1514.

Fine impression. Soft, warmish ink, with considerable tinting in the close work. The tone of the paper aids the effect of softness.

The impressions examined vary. In Paris there is a fine medium black one, clean wiped. It is very instructive to compare the workmanship, as well as the printing, of this and the preceding plate with the earlier plates of similar subjects, "The Peasant and His Wife," No. 23, and "The Three Peasants in Conversation," No. 24.

Dürer really shows a sense of humor in this print, which is rare with him,—in spite of the claim made by some writers that all his representations of peasants are humorous. (See "The Three Peasants in Conversation," No. 24.) Of some of the conceits in the marginal drawings for Maximilian's Prayer Book, it

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may, indeed, be said that they are humorous, but with a gently ironical flavor. As an expression of fun or mirth, this print stands alone among all of his works. The expressiveness of the faces is also to be noted. As a rule, he does not rise above a neutral expression, or at most the expression of a lasting mood. Here we have the expression of momentary excitement. (See also the remarks under Nos. 4 and 12.)

74 THE VIRGIN ON THE CRESCENT, WITH SHORT HAIR TIED WITH A RIBBON.—B 33; H 505; R 204; M 72.—MONOGRAM; DATED 1514.

a. Fine, brilliant, yet delicate impression. Warmish ink, with very slight tinting in the close work. From the Balmano Collection.

b. Very similar to *a*, but somewhat more delicate, having been printed, probably, with a softer ink. The line around this impression is drawn in ink.

c. Very "silvery,"—as it was printed from the worn plate, clean wiped.

There are both dark and delicate impressions from this plate, these last later than the former, their delicacy being due to differences in the ink used and in the wiping. (See Introduction, p. xxxvi.)

The "man in the moon" is omitted. Compare Nos. 8 and 44.

75 THE VIRGIN SITTING BY A WALL.—B 40; H 610; R 205; M 71.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1514, ON A TABLET.

a. Very fine impression, in soft black ink, on white paper, perceptibly tinted in the close work.

b. Also a very fine impression, similar to *a*, but on luminous toned paper. The slight tint in the sky, with an accidental gradation, gives to the landscape an evening effect. Marked on the back "B 1602," which, according to Fagan, shows that the print, in the year named, was in the possession of Paul Behaim, of Nuremberg.

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c. Very good impression, on tinted paper, with a broad margin, but more closely wiped than *a* and *b*, and therefore not as brilliant.

d. Reversed copy, undescribed.

There is a fine medium dark impression in Paris, while London has a silvery gray one, in black ink, with only very slight tinting in the close work. Those in Dresden and in Berlin, although delicate, are hardly "silvery," because they are printed with a warmish ink, with considerable tinting.

Thausing specially cites this print in connection with his theory concerning the supposed change in technical processes adopted by Dürer in 1514. Its distinctive feature is its great variety of texture. As this point has been fully discussed in the Introduction (see pp. xxxiii and xxxvi), it is unnecessary to say more here.

THE APOSTLES.

76 ST. THOMAS.—B 48; H 667; R 207; M 75.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1514 (THE SECOND FIGURE CORRECTED), ON A TABLET.

77 ST. PAUL.—B 50; H 686; R 206; M 76.—MONOGRAM; DATED 1514.

a. On white paper.

b. On tinted paper. From the Fisher Collection.

78 ST. SIMON.—B 49; H 678; R 252; M 97.—MONOGRAM; DATED 1523.

79 ST. BARTHOLOMEW.—B 47; H 659; R 251; M 96.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1523, ON A TABLET.

80 ST. PHILIP.—B 46; H 652; R 264; M 101.—MONOGRAM AND
DATE, 1526 (LAST FIGURE CORRECTED), ON A TABLET.

Good, clear impressions, with very slight tinting in the close work. All, except No. 77b, from the Koller Collection.

Generally speaking, the impressions from these plates are printed in a warmish ink, with tinting varying from slight to heavy. This latter is the case, for instance, with an impression of No. 78, "St. Simon," in the Gray Collection, Boston. On the other hand, an impression in London of No. 80, "St. Philip," is printed in black ink, clean wiped, and therefore rather silvery in effect.

These plates have been placed together here, because they evidently belong together, although their dates cover a period of thirteen years, the earliest being dated 1514, the latest 1526. In accordance with this variation of date, they vary considerably also in execution. The two of the year 1514 hold their place unchallenged among other works of the same period. They are simpler for the very simple reason that the subjects are simpler. The "St. Simon," No. 78, of the year 1523, is still similar to them; indeed, it reminds one very strongly, in its workmanship, of No. 72, "The Bagpiper." But in the same year Dürer emancipated himself from the too strict attention to finish, and hence the handling of No. 79, "St. Bartholomew," is much freer and bolder than that of No. 78, although it shows all the skill due to an absolute command of the graver. In the plate of 1526, finally, No. 80, "St. Philip," the handling becomes still bolder, especially in the ground and background, in which reappear the long sweeping lines of Dürer's earlier work, such as are seen, for instance, in No. 6, "St. Jerome in Penance." This simpler, more vigorous handling is characteristic of all of his latest work.

Dürer undoubtedly intended to include the whole of the twelve apostles in this series, but it was never finished. Thausing (II, p. 220) detects certain psychological tendencies in the artist about this time (1514), which he (Dürer) developed "in a manner peculiarly his own," inferentially by the creation of a number of character heads. "It was with this object in view that he commenced, in 1514, a series of figures of the Apostles on copper, which, though never finished, occupied him, as we shall see, for more than ten years, and which, in connection with another idea conceived about the same time, inspired the production of his last great work." The "other idea" was the theory of the Four Temperaments (see Nos. 69, 70, and 71); the "last great work" is the picture of the Four Apostles which Dürer presented to his native city in 1526. Thausing points out the striking resemblance of the St. Philip in this series, especially

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in the drapery, with the St. Paul in the painting. Lippmann (No. 177) reproduces a pen-and-ink study for the St. Paul, from the Von Lanna Collection.

81 THE MAN OF SORROWS SEATED.—B 22; H 459; R 213; M 80.—NO MONOGRAM; DATED 1515.

a. Fair impression of the 1st state, before the rusting of the plate. From the Mariette Collection.

b. From the plate rusted, worked over, and enlarged on both sides, evidently by a later hand (Passavant's "4th state." See below).

Really good impressions from this plate in the first state are quite rare. The Paris Cabinet has one, together with an impression like *b.* London has an only fair impression, not quite sound. (There is in London also an impression of the copy with Dürer's monogram, and the date 1510. Heller, No. 461.) The impression in Dresden is a bad one. In Berlin there are three impressions, a very pale one from the plate before rusting, in which the lines look as if they had been wiped out, a good, strong impression from the rusted plate, and a third from the plate worked over.

Passavant (III, p. 149) describes four states, as follows: 1. The proofs are good and clean; 2. The impression is feeble and bad, the plate having already worn; 3. The plate is retouched and the stone on which Christ is seated is no longer entire; rust spots; 4. The stone and several other parts are heavily retouched; many rust spots. Evidently 2 is not a state, and 3 would seem to be merely a "working proof" of the bungler who attempted to retouch the plate.

This plate is etched, and probably Dürer's first attempt of the kind, although Thausing and others are inclined to place "The Man in Despair," No. 85 of this catalogue, earlier. Dürer etched six plates (here numbered 81–85 and 89) on iron, as is proven by the plate of "Christ in the Garden" (No. 82) which, in the year 1831, was in Heller's possession, still in very good condition. We know also, from plates still existing, that other old etchings, as, for instance, those by the Hopfers, were done on iron. The rust spots noticeable in the later impressions, which are sometimes adduced as evidence of the metal used, are not, however, positive proof, since copper plates may also corrode, and their roughened surface will then produce similar spots in the impressions. (See the Introduction, p. xxxi.)

82 CHRIST IN THE GARDEN.—B 19; H 425; R 212; M 81.—
MONOGRAM; DATED 1515.

Early impression, before the rusting of the plate, black ink, clean wiped, only slight tinting here and there. Not quite solid, however, that is to say, the lines not quite filled with ink, and therefore showing white spots. Watermark, castle gate, Hausmann, No. 8. From the Fisher Collection.

The cabinets in Paris, London, and Berlin have good early impressions, the one in Berlin (where there is also a late impression) with considerable tinting. The impression in Dresden was on exhibition at the time these notes were made. The Gray Collection, Boston, has only a late impression, with many rust spots.

Etching on iron. The plate, still in good condition, was in Heller's possession in the year 1831, the date of publication of his book. (See No. 81 and Introduction, p. xxxi.)

Two pen-and-ink studies, in the Louvre, are reproduced by Lippmann (Nos. 320 and 321). Ephrussi (pp. 198, 199) also mentions two in the Albertina.

83 THE SUDARIUM DISPLAYED BY ONE ANGEL.—B 26;
H 466; R 223; M 82.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1516, ON
A TAG.

Fine early impression from the plate before it had rusted. Printed in soft, warmish ink, with considerable tinting in the close work, but most of the lights wiped clean. With some margin.

The heavy tinting in this impression, which has even been left in some of the minor lights, is instructive in the history of printing. The earlier printers, of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, could not have wiped such a tint. The impressions examined in the European cabinets differ considerably in this respect. The one in London, from the plate in its best state, shows strong tinting in all but the broad lights, and so strong in the right wing of the angel (to left on the impression) and in the dark lower mass of the drapery, as to produce unpleasant spots. An early impression in Dresden, on the con-

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trary shows only slight tinting in the close work, and in the proof in Berlin the tinting to be seen is mostly in the lower part of the drapery of the angel who displays the sudarium. On the whole, judging also from other impressions examined, it would seem that Dürer made, or had his printer make, experiments with this plate, with a view to producing by the aid of the ink, the richness and variety which the rude flat biting with which this plate is executed, failed to give him.

After all that has been said above, it is hardly necessary to state that this plate is also an etching on iron. According to Passavant, there are impressions on modern paper, which would make it evident that the plate is still in existence. (See No. 81 and Introduction, p. xxxi.)

84 THE RAPE OF A YOUNG WOMAN.—B 72; H 813; R 224; M 83.—MONOGRAM; DATED 1516.

Fine early impression, before the rust spots. Black ink, clean wiped, with only slight, evidently accidental, tinting in upper part. On white paper with the curious watermark which, in its outline, resembles somewhat Hausmann, No. 44.

Contrary to the impressions from No. 83, those from this plate seem to be as a rule fairly clean wiped. The very fine one in the Gray Collection, Boston, is of the same kind.

An obscurely treated mythological subject, called also, "The Rape on the Unicorn," "Pluto carrying off Proserpine," "Nessus carrying off Dejanira," and "The Ravishment." It ranks, as an enigma, with such early plates as "The Rape of Amyone," No. 16, and "Hercules," No. 17.

Etching on Iron. (See No. 81 and Introduction, p. xxxi.)

85 THE MAN IN DESPAIR.—B 70; H 882; R 225; M 79.— WITHOUT MONOGRAM OR DATE.

Fairly good impression. Soft ink, most of the lights clean wiped; heavy tinting in the close work; gray spots, wiped out (*i. e.*, "crevés"), below, in places where the lines are very close together.

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Paris has a fine impression, in warmish ink, with much tinting, and the one in London is of the same kind. In the Berlin Cabinet, there is an only fair impression, black ink, no tinting, wiped out here and there.

Of all of Dürer's compositions, this bears off the palm as being the most puzzling. Heller calls it "The Bath," on the authority of some old manuscript, and presumes the woman to have been drowned, the naked man in despair to be her husband, and the satyr, etc., sympathizing spectators. Hüsgen, according to Heller, dubbed it "The Dismayed Husband." Thausing and others maintain that it is merely an aggregation of studies taken at random,—hence the title "Study of Five Figures,"—and that it is, therefore, Dürer's first essay in etching. In the principal figure, the "man in despair," Thausing detects Italian influences, and even recognizes in it the position of Michelangelo's "Cupid," in the South Kensington Museum. There is a drawing by Dürer (see the Biographical Illustrations, p. li) of a man, very similar to the figure seen in profile to the left, which Thausing declares to be a portrait of Andrew, Albert's brother, a declaration stoutly opposed by Ephrussi.

Etched on iron. (See No. 81.) Although without monogram or date, this plate is universally accepted as by Dürer. The opinions as to its date differ, however. Heller places it between 1507 and 1514; Retberg about 1516. Thausing, who, as above stated, sees in the subject merely an aggregation of studies thrown together at random, argues that it is a mere trial plate, and consequently Dürer's first essay in etching. It is, however, altogether too elaborate for a mere trial plate, and, moreover, technically the most perfect, because the most delicate, of the artist's etchings. Retberg's suggestion is, therefore, the most probable.

86 THE VIRGIN ON THE CRESCENT, WITH CROWN OF STARS AND SCEPTER.—B 32; H 526; R 221; M 84.—MONOGRAM; DATED 1516.

Very fine impression. Soft, somewhat warmish black ink, with very perceptible tinting throughout the close work. From the Fisher Collection.

The impressions from this plate also vary considerably. In London there is a beautiful delicate one, warmish ink, clean wiped. Dresden has a fair impression, black ink, clean wiped, producing a grayish effect. The Berlin impression is also fine and delicate, warmish ink, clean wiped, with only slight tinting, nevertheless rather dull in general effect, owing to the color of the paper. The

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Gray Collection in Boston, finally, has an impression in strong black ink, clean wiped.

Concerning the opinions of Thausing and Middleton, as to the technic of this plate, see the Introduction, p. xxxiii and Middleton's list, No. 84.

Again, the "man in the moon" is left out in the crescent. (Compare Nos. 8, 44, and 74.)

87 THE VIRGIN CROWNED BY TWO ANGELS.—B 39; H 547; R 226; M 87.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1518, ON A SQUARE STONE.

a. Very fine impression. Printed in pure black ink, practically clean wiped, with slight tinting in the closest work. From the Mariette and Ruhl Collections.

b. Also a very fine, but more delicate impression. Soft warmish black ink, with very delicate tinting in the close work. From the Koller Collection.

In Paris there is a brilliant dark impression. That in London is a very fine silvery one, in black ink, absolutely clean wiped. Dresden has a delicate impression, but not "silvery," as the ink is rather warmish, and there is very slight tinting in the close work. The impression in Berlin is a very beautiful one, on the whole similar to the one in Dresden.

Speaking in general of Dürer's works done between the years 1513 and 1520, Thausing says (II, p. 134): "The engravings of the Virgin belonging to this period are as unattractive as the paintings. The most agreeable among them, the 'Virgin Crowned by two Angels,' of 1518, is taken from older studies,—at least the beautiful drawing for the drapery on her knees, in the Albertina, belongs to the year 1508." Two composition sketches for this plate are published by Ephrussi (pp. 194, 195) and by Lippmann (Nos. 94 and 265). For Mr. Ruskin's estimate of it, see Lecture IV and the Appendix to his "Ariadne Florentina." The period here alluded to (1513–20) is that in which Dürer was principally occupied with the designs for the woodcut publications of the Emperor Maximilian, and Thausing makes these designs directly responsible for the inferior quality of the paintings and engravings belonging to the same period. Nevertheless, it is impossible to deny that this Virgin is, in a worldly aspect, the prettiest and most elegant of all her sisters in Dürer's work, even if it must be admitted that the pose seems to betray the constraint of the model.



1



2



3

THE SMALL CRUCIFIXION.
(Nos. 88a, 88b, 88c, enlarged.)

88 THE SMALL CRUCIFIXION.—B 23; H 435; R 227;
M 86.—WITHOUT MONOGRAM OR DATE.

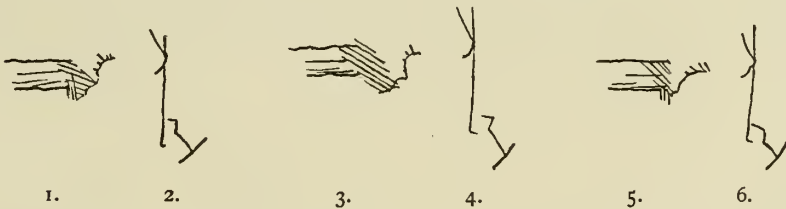
a. Very beautiful impression of the original according to Passavant. Printed in soft black ink, with very slight tinting, in the close work.

b. Fine impression in brownish black ink, of the original according to Bartsch, but classed by Passavant as Copy A. From the collection of the Earl of Aylesford.

c. Fine impression in warmish black, classed by Passavant as Copy B.

However unreliable Passavant may often be, there can be no doubt that he is correct in his judgment as to the various renderings of this celebrated engraving. The comparison of the three versions here shown makes it evident that only the version represented by *a* (see Fig. 1 of the enlargements on the accompanying plate) has Dürer's vigor. The two others, fine and wonderfully skilful as they are, are less virile. Copy A (Fig. 2 of the enlargements) is certainly very close and misleading, but in the presence of the original even it loses somewhat, while Copy B (Fig. 3), beautiful as it is in itself, is altogether too soft and pretty as compared with the original.

As the signs of distinction given by Passavant and Bartsch are difficult of identification, especially in impressions that are not quite fresh, others, much more easily recognizable, are here pointed out for the three versions shown. They can be readily found on the enlargements on the accompanying plate, but for still further convenience of consultation they are repeated here in isolation.



Two such signs are given:—First, the rays, which, emanating from the head of Christ, dart obliquely upward toward the left (of the plate), and cross the right arm (left of plate) of the cross, at its junction with the upright beam; and secondly, a fold in the lower part of the garment of the most prominent of the three Holy Women. Figs. 1 and 2 are from Passavant's original (Fig. 1 of the enlargements on the plate), Figs. 3 and 4 are from Copy A (Fig. 2 on the plate),

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and Figs. 5 and 6 from Copy B (Fig. 3 on the plate). Elaborate descriptions are unnecessary in the presence of these illustrations. It will be sufficient to say that the number and the direction of the rays, and the figure formed by the small hook-shaped fold with the long fold to left of it, are the characteristics more especially to be noted.

There are still other signs of recognition, which it is easier to find than those given by either Bartsch or Passavant. Note, for instance, the face of the soldier who stands behind St. John. In the original the features are indicated by a few strong straight lines, after the manner of Rembrandt. In Copy A there are similar lines, but they can be seen only with difficulty. In Copy B, finally, there are two dots for the eyes, one for the nose, to indicate the nostrils, and a very slight indication of a mouth. The shoulder of the soldier also differs. In the original, two long rays, from the halo of St. John, cross the entire shoulder, and of these the upper one forms, with a shading line near the contour of the shoulder, Passavant's "crochet," *i. e.*, a hook, something like a boat-hook. In Copy A no rays cross the shoulder. In Copy B there are again two rays, but they do not quite cross the shoulder, they are rather close together, and they run parallel to each other, whereas in the original the two long rays are separated by two shorter ones, and diverge a trifle.

Passavant mentions four further copies:—C, by Jerome Wierix, with the INRI not reversed, therein following Bartsch, while Alvin, No. 233, knows only of a copy by Ant. Wierix; D, said to be very bad, the INRI again not reversed, and two by Carl Kappes, of which especially the first is said to be "excessive-ment trompeuse."

This marvelous little engraving, although without monogram, is undoubtedly by Dürer, who mentions it in a letter to Spalatin, dated at the beginning of the year 1520: "I send also two little printed crosses with this; they are engraved on gold and one is for your honor." As it was engraved for the Emperor Maximilian (see below), who died January 12, 1519, it cannot have been done later than 1518, which is also Retberg's conclusion. The earlier dates named by Heller and by Hausmann are out of the question.

The "Little Round Crucifixion,"—a niello, as the reversed position of the letters INRI shows,—is the smallest and one of the most celebrated of Dürer's acknowledged engravings. It was engraved on gold, and originally ornamented the hilt of a sword belonging to the Emperor Maximilian I. Thausing in his first edition (II, pp. 70, 71) describes a sword in the Ambras Collection, at Vienna, as the one which originally held the precious plate, although the place it once occupied is now filled by a silver plate of later insertion. Wendelin Boeheim, on the contrary ("Rep. für Kunstw.," III, pp. 276–87), shows that this cannot be the sword in question, and Thausing, in his second German edition (II, p. 73), accepts his conclusions. The print enjoys also the distinction of

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being far and away the dearest for its size. As high as \$350 has been paid for a very fine impression. Calculated at so much a square inch, that is considerably dearer than Rembrandt's "Hundred Guilders Piece," at \$10,000.

89 THE CANNON.—B 99; H 1017; R 228; M 85.—MONOGRAM; DATED 1518.

Late impression, from the rusted plate, very dull in lower right corner. From the Von Derschau Collection, and, as a duplicate, from the Berlin Cabinet.

Of the European cabinets named, only that in Berlin has an impression from the uncorroded plate, clean wiped. The impressions in Paris, London, and Dresden, as well as the one in the Gray Collection, Boston, all show more or less the effects of rusting.

Really good early impressions, from the plate before rusting, seem to be rare. It was probably very popular in its day, and the early impressions were used up, so that those now met with are of later date.

"A large field-piece, with the arms of Nuremberg on it and surrounded by footsoldiers, is being looked at with respectful astonishment by five Turks, for whom it is no doubt intended as a warning, and in the background are the plains of the native land it is destined to protect" (Thausing, II, p. 66). This plate, called also "Die Nürnberger Feldschlange" (The Nuremberg Field-Serpent), is the last of the six etchings on iron (see No. 81) done by Dürer. He had evidently given up the process as unsatisfactory, but in this case used it once more, as an expeditious method for placing upon the market a plate intended to satisfy a transient popular demand. The fear of the Turk was then strong in Germany, the first siege of Vienna occurring in 1529. (See No. 81 and Introduction, p. xxxi.)

90 THE VIRGIN NURSING THE CHILD.—B 36; H 576; R 232; M 88.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1519, ON A SQUARE STONE.

a. Fine dark impression. Rather warmish black ink, practically clean wiped, with only very slight tinting. From the Artaria Collection.

b. Equally fine, but more delicate impression, in somewhat coldish

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ink, practically clean wiped. From the Prince de Paar and the Ruhl Collections.

The impressions in the cabinets at Paris, London, and Dresden are delicately grayish, having been printed in black ink, with very slight tinting. A full, somewhat rough-looking impression, although clean wiped, but in very black ink, is in the Berlin Cabinet. The Gray Collection, Boston, has a fine impression, in strong black ink, practically clean wiped, on white paper.

Thausing (II, p. 134) says of this plate and B 38 (No. 95 of this catalogue) that they "are without any particular charm or dignity, being taken quite casually from burgher life, and are only remarkable for the soft gray tone of the engraving," which gray tone, however, depends, as we have seen, to some extent, on the printing, although the execution is in itself very delicate, and much simpler than many of the plates which precede it. A slight composition sketch is published by Ephrussi (p. 191), and another drawing which was utilized for this print is mentioned by him (p. 188).

91 ST. ANTHONY.—B 58; H 695; R 233; M 89.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1519, ON A TABLET.

a. Fine delicate impression, soft black ink, clean wiped, with almost no tinting in the close work.

b. Late impression, from the worn plate, printed in red.

Paris has a fair gray impression, London a fine one, in warmish ink, generally speaking also grayish, but with heavy tinting in the cloak of the saint, which produces an unpleasant spot. The impression in Dresden, in warmish ink, is delicate, but rather muddy, due to tinting and grayish paper. In the Berlin Cabinet there is a fine delicate impression, in warmish ink, with but slight tinting. The Gray Collection, in Boston, has a very delicate impression, printed in soft black ink, very closely wiped.

St. Anthony, an Egyptian saint, not to be confounded with St. Anthony of Padua, has inspired many artists, from Schongauer down to the disciples of the modern French-Italian school; but the scenes generally chosen are those of his torment and temptation by demons, in which the fantastic or the voluptuous forms assumed by the latter are the main point. Dürer represents another phase in the life of the saint,—his flight from the world and application to study and prayer. The pig which often accompanies St. Anthony, as the symbol of the lusts which he conquered, Dürer has omitted; the bell attached to his staff,

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signifying his power to drive away evil spirits, is here. The city in the distance is generally supposed to be Nuremberg, but Hausmann says that it is strikingly like Marburg. Thausing rates the plate very highly. "For depth of conception," he says (II, pp. 134, 135), "and tenderness of execution and feeling, this small plate is equal to the best engravings of former years. Dürer never did anything again equal to it." Heller states that of the copy described by him under No. 699 there are impressions in red, but the impression in that color here shown is evidently from the original plate, badly worn. In his Diary, Dürer classes this print among the "half sheets," of which he sold twenty for one florin.

92 PEASANT AT MARKET.—B 89; H 931; R 235; M 90. —MONOGRAM ON A STONE; DATED 1519.

Very good, clear impression. Black ink, clean wiped, on white paper.

The impressions in Paris and London, and the two in Berlin, as well as the better of the two in the Gray Collection, Boston, all very fine, are similar in printing to the one here shown. In Dresden this print is wanting. The curious spots on the eggs and the little spot on the peasant's coat, immediately above his right knee, seem to be on all impressions.

The simplicity of treatment in this plate carries us back even beyond the peasant subjects of 1514, No. 72, "The Bagpiper," and No. 73, "The Dancing Peasants," to such early work as No. 23, "The Peasant and his Wife."

Allihn, p. 90, mentions this engraving in connection with the other representations of peasants of supposed satirical tendency. In the faces of the couple he detects "exemplary stupidity." All the prints of this size, including the small Madonnas, Dürer classes as "quarter sheets," of which he gave forty-five for one florin.

93 ALBERT OF BRANDENBURG (THE SMALLER).—B 102; H 1024; R 234; M 91.—MONOGRAM; DATED MDXIX.

Very beautiful, delicate impression, printed in soft, warmish black ink, with very slight tinting in the close work. Without text on the back.

The impressions in all the cabinets examined are of the same character, as regards printing,—rather warmish ink, very slight tinting in the close work, the

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finest being that in the cabinet at Berlin. An impression equally fine is in the Gray Collection, Boston.

Called also "The Little Cardinal," to distinguish it from B 103 (No. 98 of this catalogue), known as "The Great Cardinal." Albert, or Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg, born 1489 or 1490, died 1545, was the man who, after he had received the pope's authority to sell indulgences within his diocese, on condition of making over to the papal treasury one-half of the profits, appointed the Dominican Tezel, and thus indirectly caused Luther to post his ninety-five theses. His titles are given in the inscription on the upper part of the plate: "Albert, by divine mercy the most holy Roman church's titular presbyter cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, archbishop of Mayence and Magdeburg, primate elector of the empire, administrator of Halberstadt, margrave of Brandenburg." The lower inscription reads: "Thus were his eyes, his cheeks, his features. Aged 29, 1519." The plate was engraved for a book of relics, etc., belonging to the church of Sts. Maurice and Mary Magdalen at Halle, which was published in 1520. In a letter written by Dürer to George Spalatin, at the beginning of the year 1520, this plate is mentioned as follows: "At the same time I send herewith to my most gracious lord three impressions of an engraving on copper, which I engraved after my most gracious lord of Mayence and at his request. I sent and presented the plate to His Electoral Grace with 200 impressions; in return His Electoral Grace has shown himself gracious to me, for His Electoral Grace has made me a present of 200 florins in gold and 20 ells of damask for a coat." Mr. Ruskin justly objects to the reflections of windows in the eyes of most of Dürer's portraits, as in this one. They are due to an affectation of knowledge, displayed with a childish pride in lately acquired powers of observation, which was quite characteristic of the time. Nevertheless, this portrait not only stands preëminent for delicacy and noble simplicity among those engraved by Dürer, but it will always be ranked among the best portraits engraved anywhere, and at any time. The later impressions are those from the book above mentioned, with type printing on the back, or rather, the engraving is printed on the back of the title of the book above alluded to. For further details, see Heller, according to whom these impressions with type are the best,—which would seem to be doubtful, unless there should also be later impressions without type, printed from the plate after it had been used in the book. From Dürer's letter, as here quoted, it is evident that at least 200 proofs were printed before it was used in the book.

Ephrussi (p. 260) mentions two studies, one in the Kunsthalle, Bremen, evidently rejected by Lippmann, as he does not reproduce it, the other in the Albertina, at Vienna.

94 THE VIRGIN CROWNED BY ONE ANGEL.—B 37;
H 537; R 236; M 92.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1520, ON A
TABLET.

a. Very fine impression. Printed in soft, warmish ink, the tinting quite pronounced, the broad lights wiped clean. From the Mariette and Von Liphart Collections.

b. Also a fine impression, with still heavier tinting, and printed on paper of a warmer tone than *a.* Broad margin. Watermark, a jug.

These impressions are remarkable for their tinting, more especially *b*, in which it is rather too heavy. (Compare with No. 95.) The impressions examined in Europe vary considerably. In Paris there is a grayish impression, lacking brilliancy. The impression in London, very fine and delicate, is printed in warmish ink, with slight tinting in the close work. That in Dresden is fair, very delicate, rather warmish ink, slight tinting,—on the whole, a trifle dingy. The one in Berlin is quite artificially printed,—in general rather delicate, warmish ink, clean wiped in the lights, but with very heavy tinting in the close work on the right, the distance on the left kept much lighter.

"Stiff and spiritless," says Thausing (II, p. 134), and this severe criticism must be admitted, however unwillingly. Most of these Madonnas have the flavor of market ware, but even in them the conscientiousness of the artist did not permit him to slight his work, and they are, therefore, technically quite perfect. It may not be amiss to note here that in Heller's description of the copy, No. 538 of his list, the first two of the explanatory figures have been accidentally reversed, so that, according to their evidence, the original would be taken for the copy.

There was a study for this print in the Klinkosch Collection. A reproduction is given in the auction catalogue of this collection (Vienna: C. J. Wawra, 1889).

95 THE VIRGIN WITH THE CHILD SWADDLED.—B 38;
H 585; R 237; M 93.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1520, ON A
TABLET.

a. Very fine impression, in soft brownish-black ink. Concerning the printing, see below. From the Kalle Collection.

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b. Also a very fine impression, but differently treated in the printing. See below. From the Artaria Collection.

These two impressions are even more interesting than those described under No. 94, as specimens of sixteenth century "artificial printing," employed for the purpose of reaching effects, which the engraved lines, unaided, would not produce. Indeed, they take the lead, in this respect, among all the specimens in the collection here shown. In *a* a very heavy tint has been left on the plate where the shadows are deepest, that is to say, in the lower half of the right side; the broad lights on the figure, etc., are carefully wiped; the distance on the left is also pretty closely wiped, with only very slight tinting, while a medium tint has been left in the sky on the right side. The result is airiness, marred somewhat, however, by the too heavy tint in the darkest parts. In impression *b*, on the other hand, the rather heavy tinting extends all over the plate, the lights only excepted. The result is more harmony and greater richness, with a loss of airiness or spaciousness. In other words, the distance comes forward too much. The impressions seen in the European cabinets vary in printing. In Paris there is a dark impression, with much tinting; in London a clear one, warmish ink, with only slight tinting in the close work. The impressions in Dresden and in Berlin are quite similar to each other,—warm ink, clean wiped in the lights, with very heavy tinting in the close work. In spite of the differences described, all these impressions are fine.

This is another of the Virgins of the period from 1513 to 1520, so severely criticized,—not unjustly,—by Thausing. What was said about "market ware" and the "conscientiousness" of the artist under No. 94 applies here also.

96 ST. CHRISTOPHER WITH THE HEAD TURNED TO THE LEFT.—B 51; H 708; R 245; M 94.—MONO- GRAM AND DATE, 1521, ON A SQUARE STONE.

Fine impression. Printed in a soft warmish ink, rather heavy tinting in the close work, only the broad lights wiped clean. From the Mariette and Von Liphart Collections.

From the first impression produced by this print and its mate, No. 97, in impressions like the one here shown, one is inclined to class them with the later plates of "The Little Passion," with which they share, indeed, the desire to produce a completely finished picture. They are, however, somewhat more open in the lining, and the printing is much more "artificial" in most of the

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proofs examined. Impressions in black ink, with very little tinting, are, indeed, met with, but those of the kind here shown,—that is to say, printed in a warm ink, with much tinting, only the broad lights wiped clean (note, for instance, that even the torch held by the hermit in the distance is very perceptibly tinted),—seem to be decidedly in the majority. This applies more especially to No. 96. In London, for instance, there is an impression from the plate in its best condition in ink of a disagreeably cold reddish black, with altogether too much tinting, only the broad lights having been wiped clean. In the very fine impression in Berlin there is also a heavy tint throughout, with only the broad lights wiped quite clean. Dresden, on the other hand, has an impression in pure black ink, with only slight tinting in the close work, and therefore “silvery,” but rather flat looking, while the one in Paris is described as “dry” in the notes used in compiling this catalogue. The impression in the Gray Collection, Boston, is again quite artificial in the printing. The ink is of a warmish black, and there is very heavy tinting in the cloak of the saint, on his staff, on his legs, and in the water. The broad lights on the figures, the halo of the Christ child, and the stone bearing the monogram, are quite clean wiped. A slight tint has been left on the distance, but the hermit and the lower part of the flame of his torch have been wiped clean. That the absolutely clean wiping of these lights was done consciously is shown in the distance on the left, where it extends into the tree seen at the back of the saint, so that part of it is clean and the other part tinted. (See No. 97.)

97 ST. CHRISTOPHER WITH THE HEAD TURNED TO THE RIGHT.—B 52; H 715; R 246; M 94.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1521, ON A SQUARE BLOCK OF STONE.

a. Fine impression. Printed in black ink, practically clean wiped, with only very slight tinting. From the Balmanno Collection.

b. Also a fine impression, practically clean wiped, with only very slight tinting, but printed with a warmer ink, and therefore softer in effect.

The tinting in both the impressions above described is not nearly as heavy as in No. 96, and the lights in the distance are clean wiped. The impressions in the cabinets at Paris, London, and Berlin are in general like those here shown, the one in Berlin, in black ink, being wiped especially clean. Dresden has a fine warmish impression, with much tinting, more particularly in the drapery of the saint. The impression in the Gray Collection shows a perceptible tint, only the broad lights on the figures having been wiped clean.

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In his Netherlands Diary Dürer records, in the month of May, 1521, that he drew four small St. Christophers on gray paper, heightened with white, for his friend Joachim Patenier, "the good landscape-painter," and it has been suggested that we may have two of these designs in Nos. 96 and 97, both of which are dated 1521. Compare, however, Ephrussi, pp. 338-40, who reproduces a composition sketch for No. 96, dated 1517. Vasari mentions both of these plates, Nos. 96 and 97, with commendation, but in his usual careless manner: "He also twice designed St. Christopher bearing the Infant Christ, in two distinct manners, both exceedingly beautiful, and finished with great care, the separate tresses of the hair finely distinguished and every part very carefully made out." (Mrs. Foster's translation, III, p. 489.)

Of plates dealing with religious subjects there are only three which bear a later date than 1521, and these belong to the series of Apostles, begun much earlier, in 1514. They are "St. Simon" and "St. Bartholomew," dated 1523, and "St. Philip," dated 1526. (See Nos. 78, 79, and 80.) For the rest, Dürer henceforth confined himself to portraits in his engraving.

98 ALBERT OF BRANDENBURG (THE LARGER).—B 103; H 1035; R 254; M 98.—MONOGRAM ON A TAG; DATED MDXXIII.

Very fine, delicate impression, in soft black ink, clean wiped. Watermark, a dog, Hausmann, No. 13. From the Artaria Collection.

Paris: Delicate gray impression, tinting in the close work, unfortunately smudged in the printing about the tip of the nose. London: Pure black ink, lines clear, but the plate tinted all over, and therefore not attractive. Dresden: Delicate, ink rather warmish, generally speaking clean wiped. Berlin: Fine impression, warmish black ink, tinting in the close work.

Passavant says that there are impressions from the retouched plate, and then adds: "The subsequent impressions have the No. 27 on the tablet below to right." If all of this is to be taken literally,—which is not always safe with Passavant,—there would appear to be three states of this plate. Really fine impressions seem to be quite scarce.

Called also "The Great Cardinal," to distinguish it from "The Little Cardinal," B 102 (No. 93 of this catalogue). The inscriptions are identical with those on No. 93, except that the age has been changed to 33, and the date to 1523. In a letter to Albert, dated September 4, 1523, Dürer complains that, although he had forwarded the plate, with 500 impressions, some time ago, its receipt had

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not yet been acknowledged. There are two other engravings by Dürer dated 1523, the Apostles "St. Simon" and "St. Bartholomew" (Nos. 78 and 79).

A drawing, facing towards the left, is published by Lippmann No. 329.

99 FREDERIC THE WISE, ELECTOR OF SAXONY.—

B 104; H 1039; R 255; M 99.—MONOGRAM (THE D REVERSED AND THEN CORRECTED); DATED MDXXIII.

a. Fine impression. Printed in soft black ink, with very trifling tinting in the most closely worked parts only. The paper is somewhat damaged, but not enough to interfere with the beauty of the impression.

b. Equally fine impression, in somewhat warmer ink. Slightly cut above and on left and right sides, somewhat more below. False margin, very skilfully supplied, the lower part of the frame around the inscription and the line surrounding the portrait drawn with the pen. Watermark, a jug. (See below.)

Paris: Delicate gray impression, much tinting in the close work on the right, not quite sound in some parts. London: Two impressions, one of them on satin, this latter very weak. The impression on paper is a good one, ink slightly warmish black, a trifle muddy in the dark part of the fur on the left shoulder (right side of the print). Berlin: Two impressions, one on satin, this latter again rather weak. The other, on paper, is wonderfully fine, pure black ink, with slight tinting. Bremen, Kunsthalle: Like the Berlin impression on paper, but not as good. Watermark, a jug.

Impression *b* is exhibited here for the purpose of permitting a correction to be made. In the catalogue of the Dürer Exhibition held at the Museum of Fine Arts, in Boston, 1888-89, this same impression was shown, and the differences in the margin between it and another like *a* were pointed out as "unaccountable." The false margin and the restorations, most skilfully done, had escaped the writer at the time. The sharp and experienced eye of Mr. E. G. Kennedy, of Messrs. H. Wunderlich & Co., has since detected them. The "unaccountable differences" are, therefore, explained.

It is stated that there are later impressions from the retouched plate.

Frederic III, called the Wise, born January 17, 1463, died May 5, 1525, elector and duke of Saxony, was a patron of science, the founder of the university of Wittenberg, and a supporter of the Reformation, although he never openly espoused the doctrines of Luther. He was one of the earliest patrons of Dürer,

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who painted for him, probably, the Dresden altar-piece (Thausing, I, pp. 168-170), one of the first of his more important works, as well as other later pictures. The inscription under the portrait reads as follows: "Sacred to Christ. He favored the word of God with great piety, worthy to be revered forever by posterity. For the Lord Frederic, duke of Saxony, arch-marshal, elector of the holy Roman empire, Albert Dürer of Nuremberg made this. B. M. F. V. V." Again Dürer has thought it necessary to indicate the reflections of the windows in the eyes.

A silver-point drawing in the collection of M. A. Armand, of Paris, is mentioned by Ephrussi (p. 332).

100 WILIBALD PIRKHEIMER.—B 106; H 1076; R 256; M 100.

—MONOGRAM; DATED MDXXIV.

a. Good impression. Soft black ink, clean wiped.

b. Impression in a soft warmish ink, with considerable tinting in the close work, very perceptible in the jerkin which is seen in the opening of the fur collar, where it produces the effect of a wash of India ink.

c. Copy. Heller, No. 1079.

d. Copy. Heller, No. 1080, the date, which is wanting in this copy, added in ink.

The two proofs exhibited show that there are clean wiped and tinted impressions. Those in Paris, London, Dresden, and Berlin are clean wiped, varying, however, in the color of the ink used, from pure black (Berlin) to rather warmish (Dresden). The impression in the Gray Collection, Boston, is also absolutely clean wiped, black ink.

According to Heller and to Passavant, there are impressions from the re-touched plate.

Wilibald Pirkheimer, the celebrated patrician, humanist, and councilor of Nuremberg, Dürer's life-long and most intimate friend, to whom the letters from Venice were addressed, was born December 5, 1470, and died December 22, 1530. The inscription under his portrait, which, according to Thausing (II, p. 244), Pirkheimer himself dictated to Dürer, may be rendered as follows: "The mind endures; the rest is Death's." As usual, the artist could not withstand the temptation to show the reflections of the windows in the eyes.

Lippmann (No. 142) reproduces a drawing in the Blasius Collection, at Breslau, and Ephrussi mentions another, dated, however, 1503, in the Duménil Collection, both in profile to left.

101 PHILIP MELANCHTHON.—B 105; H 1056; R 265; M 102.

— MONOGRAM; DATED 1526.

Fine clear impression. Printed in pure black ink, tinting in the close work, especially the coat on the shoulder. Watermark, a jug.

Of the impressions in Paris, London, Dresden, and Berlin, those in the two cities first named are wiped cleaner than those in Dresden and Berlin, which show the tinting of the coat on the shoulder quite perceptibly. In Berlin there is also a counterproof. The impression in the Gray Collection, Boston, in black ink, shows but very little tinting on the coat.

Melanchthon, the colleague of Luther in the work of the Reformation, celebrated for his learning as "*Præceptor Germaniæ*," was born February 16, 1497, and died April 19, 1560. The inscription under the portrait says that "Dürer could depict the features of the living Philip, but the skilled hand could not depict his mind." The trick of the window reflections in the eyes verges upon the ridiculous in this case, as the indication of clouds in the background shows that Melanchthon is supposed to be standing in the open air. Nevertheless the portrait hardly deserves the unmeasured condemnation of Mr. Ruskin, who in his "*Ariadne Florentina*" (Lecture V) says that it is not like Melanchthon, "nor like any other person in his senses, but like a madman looking at somebody who disputes his hobby." According to Kaufmann ("*Dürer*," p. 124), "it is incontestably the best portrait of Melanchthon."

102 ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM.—B 107; H 1047; R 266;
M 103.—MONOGRAM; DATED MDXXVI.

Very fine impression. Slightly warmish black, clean wiped in the lights, delicate tinting in the close work.

Paris: Weak gray impression, showing many scratches in the plate. London: About as fine an impression as one may wish to see,—ink a rich warm black, tinting in close work, even the broad lights not wiped absolutely clean. Dresden: Wanting. Berlin: Impression on satin. The plate was evidently in good condition when this impression was taken, but it is, nevertheless, gray and ineffective. Boston, Print Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts: Good impression, from the bequest of Charles Sumner, soft black ink, slight tinting in the closest work.

Desiderius Erasmus, the most celebrated of the humanists north of the Alps,

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and in certain ways a pioneer of the Reformation, was born at Rotterdam about the year 1467, and died at Basel on July 12, 1536. Dürer met him and drew his portrait several times in the Netherlands (1520-21; see one of these drawings in Ephrussi, p. 277), and it was to him that he addressed in his Diary the fervent words of entreaty to take up the work of Luther, upon the receipt of the news that the latter had been kidnapped. The inscription on the print distinctly informs us that it was "drawn from the life by Albert Dürer." Nevertheless, it must have been engraved from the drawings made in the Netherlands five years before, a fact which may in part explain the small satisfaction given by this portrait to Erasmus himself as well as to others. "Technically, as an engraving," says Thausing (2d Germ. ed., II, p. 268), "the portrait of Erasmus, 'which his writings show better' [the words of the Greek phrase in the inscription], is as superior to that of Melanchthon as it is inferior to it in truthfulness, fidelity, and sentiment. Erasmus was polite enough, upon the receipt of the picture, to excuse its shortcomings by remarking that he himself had changed in the intervening five years." Kaufmann repeats Thausing's estimate, and adds ("Dürer," p. 125, note 1): "Luther, who did not belong to the admirers of Erasmus, and did not know him personally, curiously enough referred to this engraving, when he expatiated unfavorably on the character of Erasmus in his after-dinner speeches." As his authority for this statement Kaufmann gives "Deutsche Rundschau von Julius Rodenberg. Siebenter Jahrgang, 9 Heft. Berlin, 1881. P. 467." Mr. Ruskin's opinion may be found in the "Ariadne Florentina" (Lecture V). This portrait was possibly the last of Dürer's engravings on copper, the only other works of the kind, dated 1526, being the Melanchthon, No. 101, and the Apostle Philip, No. 80 of this catalogue.



THE GREAT COURIER
(No. 103.)

ENGRAVINGS

ATTRIBUTED TO DÜRER, EITHER DOUBTFUL OR
SPURIOUS.

103 THE GREAT COURIER.—B 81; H 1098; R APPENDIX 5;

M, WHO ACCEPTS IT, 2.

a. Photogravure from the impression in Dresden.

b. Modern copy by A. Petrak.

There are only three impressions known, one in Paris, among the Dürers; a second in the cabinet at Dresden, among the anonymous Germans of the fifteenth century, and a third in the Hofbibliothek (Court Library) at Vienna. Generally supposed, by those who accept it, to be one of Dürer's earliest plates. Bartsch says of the cutting that it is "absolument le même que celle du violent," — "absolutely the same as that of the Ravisher," — and Harck follows him in this. The writer last named is, indeed, led, by this assumed identity of workmanship, to reject "The Ravisher" (see No. 1 of this catalogue). But the photogravure here exhibited, from the impression in Dresden, shows that such identity does not exist, and it shows also that Petrak's copy is far from being reliable.

Called "The Great Courier," to distinguish it from "The Little Courier," No. 10 of this catalogue.

104 THE VIRGIN AT THE GATE.—B 45; H 2283; R APPEN-

DIX 2; M 108.—MONOGRAM AND DATE, 1520, ON A TABLET.

Very good impression. From the Artaria Collection.

The attempt to imitate in this print, not only Dürer's style, but also his technical methods, is evident. But, however "set" Dürer's handling may be, it is never as cold and mechanically perfect as here, nor is the effect ever as monotonous, even in those plates in which there is a total absence of striving for

ENGRAVINGS ATTRIBUTED TO DÜRER.

color. The impression in Paris shows on the left and on the right side that there was an engraved frame around it, while other impressions show no frame. In Berlin, there is also an impression without lines in the sky.

"This engraving," says Thausing (II, p. 78, note), "is a clumsy compilation of fragments taken from various engravings and woodcuts of Dürer's, as has been thoroughly and convincingly proved by Mr. G. W. Reid ('Fine Arts Quarterly,' 1866, N. S., I, 401). The figure of God the Father at the top is borrowed from the woodcut, 'The Repose in Egypt,' B 90; the groups of angels and the clouds from 'The Assumption,' B 94; the buildings in the background on the right and the doors from 'Christ's Farewell to His Mother,' B 92; the trunk of the tree and the fence on the left from the same source; and the large plants in the right foreground from the engraving called 'The Promenade' [No. 12 of this catalogue]." The figure of the Virgin herself, according to the same author, is taken from the title-page of "The Apocalypse." The forger, again according to Thausing, was Egidius Sadeler, while Passavant thinks it was Marcantonio, which latter is very unlikely.

105 THE TRINITY.—B 27; H 1651; R APPENDIX 1; M 104.— MONOGRAM ON A TABLET.

Impression from the worn plate.

Bad, reduced, and reversed copy, probably by an Italian, of the woodcut B 122.

106 ST. JEROME IN PENANCE.—B 62; H 782; R APPENDIX 3; M 105.

Modern copy by A. Petrak.

The original, a niello, is rare. There are impressions in Paris and in the Kunsthalle, in Bremen, and a spoiled impression, very closely cut, in the Collection Frederic Augustus II, in Dresden. Altogether, it is stated, only five impressions are known. Bartsch, Heller, and Passavant accept it, Hausmann doubts it. Retberg and Thausing think it is from a design by Dürer.

107 THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS.—B 65; H 793; R APPEN- DIX 4; M 106.

a. Facsimile in heliotype.

b. Modern copy by A. Petrak.

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The original is a niello. Accepted by Bartsch, Heller, Passavant, and Hausmann. Rejected by Retberg and Thausing. The subject is also in doubt. See Passavant, III, p. 153, who says that the only impression known is in the Albertina, at Vienna. The heliotype here shown is, however, from Lübke's work (see List of Books, etc., p. 100), the reproductions in which, according to the statement on the title-page, were made from the originals in the Royal Print Cabinet at Munich.

108 JOACHIM PATENIER.—B 108; H 2512; R APPENDIX 6; M 110.—MONOGRAM; DATED 1521.

Facsimile in photogravure.

There are original impressions in Paris and in Berlin, in both places with the acknowledged works of Dürer, and also in London, but there marked "by C. Cort."

This portrait is of especial interest, as it represents Joachim Patenier, or de Patenier or Patinir (died 1524), "the good landscape-painter," as Dürer calls him, with whom he became quite intimate, and whose wedding he attended during his sojourn in the Netherlands. He drew his likeness several times, and although the original from which this engraving was done does not now seem to be in existence, it is generally accepted as a fact that it is based upon a drawing by Dürer. Thausing attributes the plate to Egidius Sadeler, Passavant to Cornelius Cort, on the authority of Van Mander. Patenier is called the father of landscape art in the Netherlands, and according to Thausing (II, p. 202), the term "landscape-painter," as applied to him by Dürer, here appears for the first time in literature.

109 THE GREAT CRUCIFIXION IN OUTLINE.—P 109; H 2250; R 253; M 107.—MONOGRAM IN THE FIRST STATE.

Impression without the monogram, *i. e.*, second state. Watermark different from any of those given by Hausmann. From the Artaria Collection.

London has both states, with and without the monogram. It does seem as if on the impression of the second state traces of the monogram were still visible below the skull. The impressions in Dresden and Berlin are without

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the monogram. No mention is made of the monogram in connection with the impression in Paris, in the notes on which these remarks are based.

Accepted by Retberg and Passavant; rejected by Heller and Thausing (II, p. 266); unknown to Bartsch. Ephrussi (p. 318 etc.) argues in favor of the genuineness of the engraving, because there are in existence quite a number of sketches and studies by Dürer upon which it is based. Jaro Springer ("Jahrbuch," VIII, p. 59), on the contrary, finds in this same fact conclusive evidence against it, because Dürer habitually made detail studies for those of his engravings only, the subjects of which interested him theoretically — the horse, for instance, in "The Knight, Death, and the Devil," the human body in "Adam and Eve." Wessely ("Repert." VI, p. 57) quotes an entry in Paul Behaim's MS. catalog of 1618, in which the print is already spoken of not as by, but after Dürer.

110 THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL.—P 110.

Not obtainable.

Passavant (III, p. 157) attempts to prove that this is one of Dürer's earliest engravings, but it is generally rejected by other writers. There is an impression in Dresden,—not, however, with the works of Dürer. A copy by Frenzel is declared by Passavant to differ sufficiently from the original to be easily recognizable.

111 DAMIÃO DE GOES.

Not obtainable.

Joaquim de Vasconcellos, who was the first to call attention to this engraving as probably by Dürer, describes it at length on pp. 147-50 of his book "Albrecht Dürer e a sua influencia na peninsula," Porto, 1877, and he has also published a photograph of it in "Damião de Goes. O retrato de Albrecht Dürer, com duas photographias," Porto, 1879. Only a small edition of the book last named was printed, and it is already so rare that even the author could not find a copy of it. According to Mr. de Vasconcellos the print itself is likewise very rare. There is an impression in the National Library at Lisbon, but when the writer of these notes was there in the year 1895, and looked at some of the treasures of the library, he did not know of this print, and therefore did not ask to see it. Ephrussi, however (pp. 328-31), unequivocally declares it to be unworthy of Dürer, and adds in a foot-note (p. 330): "La gravure figure dans le recueil iconographique de Philippe Gall: *Effigies CL virorum versibus Arice Montani ornatae.*"

112 STUDIES FOR ADAM AND EVE.

Reproduction in photogravure.

This is the latest candidate for the honor of being admitted to a place among the engraved works of Dürer. The facsimile here shown, from the only known impression (in the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris), was published by the International Chalcographical Society in its series for 1886, No. 10. In the accompanying text it is ascribed to an "unknown German engraver, fifteenth century," the style of whose work is said to have a certain affinity with that of Martin Schongauer. Lehrs ("Repertorium," X, p. 102) ascribes it to an engraver known only by his initials, P M, who was influenced by Schongauer, and belonged to the school of the Lower Rhine. Anton Springer ("Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst," October 1889, pp. 20-22) advances the idea that we have here the earliest attempt at engraving by Dürer,—a premonition of the "Adam and Eve" of 1504 (No. 34 of this catalogue),—and he supports his argument by pointing out a resemblance of the Adam in these studies to the early portraits of Dürer. Lehrs, in his turn, controverts this opinion ("Repertorium," XIII, pp. 40 and 41), but Springer adheres to it in his book on Dürer (p. 14). There is a certain resemblance, as the comparison of the illustrations given by Springer will show, but the handling is altogether different from the admitted earliest plates of Dürer, and too skilful to have preceded "The Ravisher" (No. 1 of this catalogue).

SUPPLEMENTARY ILLUSTRATIONS.

- I. THE VENUS DE' MEDICI. Photograph.—Referred to under Nos. 14 and 34.
- II. THE APOLLO BELVEDERE. Photograph.—Referred to under No. 34.
- III. THE CAPITOLINE VENUS. Photograph.—Referred to under No. 14.
- IV. VICTORY AND FAME. Facsimile of an engraving by Jacopo de' Barbari, B 18, Kr 26.) Publications of the International Chalcographical Society for 1896.)—Referred to under No. 14.
- V. THE DEATH OF ORPHEUS. Facsimile of an engraving by an unknown Italian of the fifteenth century. (Publications of the International Chalcographical Society, Series for 1886, No. 5.)—Referred to under No. 17.
- VI. THE DEATH OF ORPHEUS. Facsimile of a drawing by Dürer, dated 1494, in the Kunsthalle at Hamburg. (Lippmann, No. 159.)—Referred to under No. 17.
- VII. THE CAPTIVES. Reproduction of an engraving by Jacopo de' Barbari, B 17, Kr 15. (From Ephrussi's "Notes biographiques.")—Referred to under No. 19.
- VIII. APOLLO AND DIANA. Reproduction of an engraving by Jacopo de' Barbari, B 16, Kr 14. (From Ephrussi's "Notes biographiques.")—Referred to under Nos. 34 and 36.

SUPPLEMENTARY ILLUSTRATIONS.

- IX. APOLLO AND DIANA. Facsimile of a drawing by Dürer, in the British Museum, London. (Lippmann, No. 233.)—Referred to under Nos. 34 and 36.
- X. ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE. Etching, by Le Rat, from a bas-relief attributed to Jacopo de' Barbari by Ephrussi. (From Ephrussi's "Notes biographiques.")—Referred to under No. 34.
- XI. ADAM AND EVE. Facsimile of a drawing by Dürer, dated 1504, in the Von Lanna Collection, at Prague. (Lippmann, No. 173.)—Referred to under No. 34.
- XII. BATTLE OF TRITONS. Engraving by Andrea Mantegna, B 18.—Referred to under No. 41.
- XIII. LO STREGOZZO. Engraving by Agostino Veneziano, B 426.—Referred to under No. 41.
- XIV. ANISQUAM. Original etching by Stephen Parrish.
1. Clean wiped.
 2. Clean wiped, with retroussage.
 3. Rag wiped.
 4. Rag wiped, with retroussage.
 5. Rag wiped, with retroussage and a graded tint.
 6. Rag wiped, with retroussage and a graded tint, and lights wiped out in the distance.
 7. Counterproof.

These seven impressions were all printed from the same plate, without any change whatever in its state or condition. The ink and the paper used are also precisely the same. The differences in Nos. 1-6 are due entirely to the treatment which the plate received at the hands of the printer, or, in other words, to the wiping. No. 7, the counterproof, was produced in the usual

SUPPLEMENTARY ILLUSTRATIONS.

manner, that is to say, by laying down a fresh impression on a clean sheet of paper, and then pulling the two through the press together. These impressions were printed at the establishment of Messrs. Kimmel & Voigt, of New York, to illustrate the art of the printer, and they are here shown with reference to the remarks on printing made in the Introduction, p. xli.

XV. PORTRAIT OF MURILLO BY HIMSELF. Etched by Rajon.

1. Clean wiped.
2. With retroussage.

See the remarks under No. XIV.



FINDING LIST

FOR THE CATALOGUES OF BARTSCH AND OF PASSAVANT.

In the first column the numbers of Bartsch and Passavant are given,
in the second those of this catalogue.

BARTSCH'S CATALOGUE.

1	34	42	13
2	35	43	66
3-18	46-61	44	2
19	82	45	104
20	18	46	80
21	64	47	79
22	81	48	76
23	88	49	78
24	45	50	77
25	68	51	96
26	83	52	97
27	105	53	43
28	5	54	42
29	25	55	19
30	8	56	20
31	44	57	32
32	86	58	91
33	74	59	65
34	29	60	71
35	67	61	6
36	90	62	106
37	94	63	7
38	95	64	62
39	87	65	107
40	75	66	40
41	63	67	41

FINDING LIST.

68	36	89	92
69	37	90	73
70	85	91	72
71	16	92	1
72	84	93	4
73	17	94	12
74	70	95	11
75	14	96	38
76	15	97	39
77	33	98	69
78	9	99	89
79	28	100	31
80	10	101	30
81	103	102	93
82	27	103	98
83	23	104	99
84	22	105	101
85	21	106	100
86	24	107	102
87	26	108	108
88	3		

PASSAVANT'S ADDITIONS.

109	109	110	110
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